University of Alberta

Empowering Inuit Women in Community-Based Economic Development

by

Tamara Tuchak

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Science

Department of Human Ecology

Edmonton, Alberta

Spring 1997

National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Acquisitions et services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced with the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-21214-9

Canada

University of Alberta

Library Release Form

Name of Author: Tamara Tuchak

Title of Thesis: Empowering Inuit Women in Community-Based Economic Development

Degree: Master of Science

Year the Degree Granted: 1997

Permission is hereby granted to the University of Alberta Library to reproduce single copies of this thesis and to lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly, or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves all other publication and other rights in association with the copyright in the thesis, and except as hereinbefore provided, neither the thesis nor any substantial portion thereof may be printed or otherwise reproduced in any material form whatever without the author's prior written permission.

T Tuchak

Tamara Tuchak
3520 McDonald Drive
Yellowknife, NT
X1A 2H1

April 17, 1997

University of Alberta

Faculty of Graduate Studies

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled Empowering Inuit Women in Community-Based Economic Development submitted by Tamara Tuchak in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master of Science

Dr. J. Oakes

Dr. N. Keating

Dr. D. Gill

Abstract

The goal of this thesis is to describe and analyze a community-based economic development project involving Inuit craftswomen participating in a craft product development workshop in order to determine whether the participants became empowered and, if so, to verify and analyze the empowerment process. An operational definition of and assumptions about empowerment are developed. Participatory action research methods are used to guide the data collection. The method is shown to be the most appropriate for conducting collaborative research with northern aboriginal peoples. The data collected is shown to support the operational definition and assumptions, indicating the existence of an empowerment process during this research. Suggestions for further research emphasizing the necessity of long-term study of empowerment are made. This research is of interest to Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal scholars, professionals and residents of small, northern communities endeavoring to improve the community based-economic development process and involve local people in it.

Empowering Inuit Women in Community - Based Economic Development

Table of Contents

	Page
Chapter 1 Introduction	1
Disempowerment in Inuit Society	1
Research Assumption	4
Goal and Objectives	5
Chapter 2 Conceptual Frameworks	7
Origins of Empowerment Theory	7
Assumptions of Empowerment Theory - A Framework for Analysis	8
A Definition of Empowerment	15
Community - based Economic Development Literature Review	18
CED Relevance to Empowerment and this Thesis	21
Chapter 3 Contextual Literature Review	23
Inuit Origins and Settlement in Eastern Arctic	24
Gender Roles and Division of Labor in Inuit Culture	25
Historic Inuit Skin Clothing - Aesthetics and Construction	26
Post Contact	28
Geographic Location of the Study - Broughton Island, NWT	30
The Minnguq Sewing Group	33
Chapter 4 Methods	34
Choice of Research Method	34
Methods	39

Chapter 5 Discussion, Conclusion and Future Research 46

Support for the Definition of Empowerment 46
Support for the Multi-Level Assumption 51
Support for the Context Assumption 53
Support for the Competency Assumption 54
The Effect of the Researcher on the Empowerment Process 60
Empowerment of Participants and Researcher 64
Minnguq in 1996-Where Are They Now? 65
Design of a Future Empowerment Project 67

References 70

Empowering Inuit Women in Community-Based Economic Development

Figures

Page

Figure 1. Location of Broughton Island, Northwest Territories 32

Chapter 1

Introduction

For centuries northern indigenous peoples have lived a nomadic existence following the seasons in search of game and resources. It was a life, not better or worse than any other. It was their own. That life changed dramatically as European whalers, traders, missionaries, and adventurers came to the North in ever increasing numbers. Since that contact over three hundred years ago, Inuit have been forced to adapt to a market economy, to accept direction over their daily affairs from southern law enforcement agencies and bureaucracies, and to abandon their nomadic way of life to settle in communities (Mathiasson, 1992).

Today, Inuit life in northern communities is a dizzying mixture of the traditional and the technological. Stress caused by the speed and scope of the change is manifested by high levels of alcohol and substance abuse, violence, and crime in Inuit society (Coates, 1991). Living conditions for many Inuit are poor given unemployment rates as high as 80% in some communities. Opportunities for individuals to improve their standard of living via conventional 'southern' employment are rare.

Disempowerment in Inuit Society

At the root of the social and economic problems is that "Inuit are often not in control of their social, economic, and cultural systems" as a result of the massive changes imposed on them during the colonization of the Canadian north (Weissling, 1991, p. 2). Traditional systems of leadership and social control by respected elders have been "replaced by one in which young whites who did not speak native

speak native languages nor know the culture were making decisions governing one's life and death, decisions taken to a plan which was invisible and unknown to the native people themselves" (Jull, 1991, p. 16). Because of loss of control over their lives, they have become a disempowered society almost completely dependent on the powerful southern society for administration, guidance, and support.

This disempowerment of Inuit society has profoundly affected the roles of men and women and the pride and esteem associated with them. Traditionally, Inuit marriage was a partnership in which women and men fulfilled the task-oriented expectations attached to their gender roles. There was no pejorative context attached to being male or female and performing those tasks (Briggs, 1974; Condon & Stern, 1993; McElroy, 1976; Musmaker-Giffen, 1930). Task assignment was also highly flexible; males and females could perform tasks traditionally assigned to the opposite sex as necessity dictated (Briggs, 1974). During pre-contact days, women's and men's contributions were equally valued as necessary for life in the harsh Arctic setting.

Disempowerment of Inuit women occurred when Inuit settled into communities and the reliance on women's traditional skills diminished. Some authors (Thompson, 1969 in Dawson, 1995) suggest that female authority in the home was usurped by males who began to engage in wage labor, and, thereby controlled purchases of housing and consumer goods. Dawson (1995) attributed some of Inuit women's loss of status and control in gender interrelations to movement of Inuit into communities and prefabricated Euro-Canadian dwellings. In the new dwellings, spatial arrangements and management techniques were radically different from those found in tents, igloos and other traditional dwellings. These differences completely dissociated Inuit women from their symbolic and practical positions of power within the home (Dawson, 1995). McElroy(1976)

suggests that the male hunter persona has been idealized by outsiders through tourism promotions and advertising without accompanying attention to the traditional roles of women. Furthermore, increasingly available mass produced consumer goods have replaced tools, utensils, clothing and other items made by Inuit women for their families, further downgrading the importance of women's skills and knowledge. Although many women still participate in traditional clothing and household item production, those activities are no longer vital for life; nor do they hold equal importance to the activities of men.

In the last quarter of the twentieth century, there has been witness to a growing Native movement demanding return of rights over land and self-determination (Purich, 1992). In the eastern Canadian Arctic, Inuit have completed a land claim agreement with the Federal government that will create an Inuit-run territory, Nunavut, in that region by 1999 (Frideres & Reeves, 1987; Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated, n.d.). Through this land claim agreement, Inuit leaders have regained some measure of control over the people of Nunavut's future. Even so, the situation at the community and individual levels is not as positive in all the Nunavut settlements. In fact, most northern communities are considered disempowered and underdeveloped. They are characterized by isolation, limited market potential, few jobs, low levels of education, and low morale (Arts and Crafts, 1990).

To address northern social problems and underdevelopment, various strategies have been employed throughout the northern territories in an attempt to generate jobs and a skilled Aboriginal workforce (Northwest Territories Development Corporation, 1995). Many of these programs were patterned on the capital intensive, growth-oriented models intended to foster industrial development in the Third World. The theory on which growth models are based assumes once

the market is strengthened, benefits will be distributed throughout the undeveloped society (Korten, 1990). However, experience has shown that any benefits generated by this model usually accrue to the upper social echelons and off-shore financial institutions, frequently leaving those in need in worse circumstances (Korten, 1990).

Developers and Aboriginal organizations recognize the error of this growth model of development and believe that small scale economic development initiatives which involve local people are more effective since they provide resources and benefits directly to the level of society which requires them (Korten, 1990; Lewis, 1994; Robinson & Ghostkeeper, 1987). Weissling (1991) states that:

> To break away from the status quo, contemporary development agents must have as a goal the achievement of a path that leads to sustained development for all. This means that some indigenous development and certainly indigenous ideas and characteristics must be incorporated into development plans. Thus, for sustained development to occur, standard development, which emphasizes economic growth as the most important goal in development and assumes that societal benefits will automatically accrue from this growth, may need to be modified (p. 36).

Research Assumption

An assumption that guided this research is that community-based economic development practitioners must strive to empower participants to create and implement local solutions in their programs in order for community-based economic development initiatives to be successful. They must encourage empowerment by valuing local strengths, such as traditional knowledge and skills of the participants. By placing traditional knowledge and skills at the foundation of

local development, development will be rendered culturally and geographically appropriate. In this context, the development will be much more likely to be empowering, effective, and self sustaining (Korten, 1990; Lewis, 1994; Robinson & Ghostkeeper, 1987; Schumacher, 1976; Weissling, 1991). It is only by succeeding in this aspect of development work, that the local participants will eventually be able to take over direction of these programs for themselves and build strength within their community.

Goal and Objectives

Few examples of research linking empowerment and community- based economic development in northern settings were found. As a result, a purpose for this research was to contribute to the community development database on empowerment in theory and practice by exploring the following question: What can be learned about empowerment within a craft product design workshop involving Inuit women in Broughton Island, NT? The goal of this thesis is to describe and analyze a community-based economic development project involving Inuit craftswomen participating in a craft product development workshop to determine whether the participants became empowered and, if so, to verify and analyze the empowerment process. Assumptions about empowerment are developed and applied using this Broughton Island case study. The goals of this research are to:

- outline assumptions about empowerment that are relevant to the case of Inuit women participating in a craft product design workshop at the Minnguq Sewing Group, Broughton Island, Northwest Territories;
- verify if an empowerment process occurred during the research by confirming support for the assumptions in the data;

- describe and analyze the empowerment process.

Chapter 2

Conceptual Frameworks

This chapter includes an examination of literature about empowerment theory and community-based economic development principles. The literature about empowerment is reviewed to illustrate how empowerment theory is relevant to the topic of this thesis. The empowerment literature review includes consideration of assumptions and definitions of empowerment. Assumptions about empowerment are discussed to determine how they provide a context for this research. A definition of empowerment is developed from the literature. In the final section of this chapter, the community-based economic development literature is reviewed to identify the main principles of community-based economic development and to establish its relevance to empowerment and to this thesis.

Origins of Empowerment Theory

A theory of empowerment evolved from objections of practitioners within helping professions, like community psychology and social work, to the prescriptive nature of their work and the idea that solutions could only be developed and implemented by experts (Rappaport, 1981). Minore and Hill (1990) identify this paradigmatic shift in the helping professions, from paternalism to advocacy to empowerment, and reviewed these models for delivering human services to illustrate the progression of ideas as the paradigm shift occurred. The paternalistic model viewed individuals and organizations as dependents incapable of problem solving, decision making, or contributing to their solutions (Minore & Hill, 1990).

Fundamental to the advocacy model was the assumption that individuals or groups would benefit from advocacy and intervention by experts regardless of whether the intervention and advocacy were invited (Minore & Hill, 1990). The empowerment model emphasized collaboration with individuals and organizations toward the development of local solutions. The strength of the empowerment model is that there is more potential for positive change working with people rather than doing things to or for them (Minore & Hill, 1990). The section below focuses on the assumptions of empowerment theory as they are used in this thesis.

Assumptions of Empowerment Theory - A Framework for Analysis

A theory is defined as "a formulation of underlying principles of certain observed phenomena which has been verified to some degree" (Neufeldt, 1990). Part of a theory is a system of rules and assumptions. The assumptions are like the themes of a theory, familiar to those who study and apply it, part of its general understanding. A review of the literature reveals assumptions of empowerment theory relevant to this thesis. A discussion of why these particular assumptions are most relevant to the application of empowerment theory to this research is presented below.

The first assumption is that empowerment can occur at the individual and collective levels, and that there is influence between those levels. Gutiérrez' (1990) assumes that empowerment can occur at a micro level within which personal feelings of power increase, and at a macro level within which collective political power increases. Depending on the context of the empowering process, the micro and macro levels may interface causing personal empowerment to enhance collective empowerment and vice versa (Gutiérrez, 1990). Other researchers

discuss the multi-level nature of the empowerment theory and assume the effect of empowerment at one level on the other (Rappaport, 1985, 1987; Staples, 1990; Zimmerman, 1990).

The first, multi-level assumption is relevant to this research project since its aim is to describe and analyze an empowerment process as it effects both the individual workshop participants and the Minnguq Sewing Group. Furthermore, the project aims to describe and analyze how existence of the empowerment process is indicated, if and how interaction of one level of empowerment with the other effects the process, and its sustainability.

The second assumption about empowerment relevant to this research is that the historical and cultural contexts of individuals and collectives can influence the empowerment process and therefore, must be understood. The importance of understanding and working within the historical and cultural contexts of those participating in an empowerment process is assumed by several empowerment researchers (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Gutiérrez,1990; Rappaport, 1981, 1987; Serrano-Garcia, 1984; Stevenson, 1992). Since groups of individuals are unique culturally, socially, geographically, and physically, the contextual analysis not only informs the participant and the researcher about those involved, it reveals local strengths, competencies and resources which can be used to encourage or strengthen the empowerment process (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Gutiérrez,1990; Rappaport, 1985, 1987; Serrano-Garcia, 1984; Stevenson, 1992).

The second or context assumption is essential to this research. The need to develop a deep understanding of Inuit culture is particularly acute since the empowerment process under scrutiny occurs in a culture which is not that of the researcher. It is critical the researcher have knowledge of Inuit culture such as the roles of women and men, traditions, customs, and material history. This enables her

to identify latent competencies among the Inuit participants, to describe how the empowerment process is shaped by Inuit culture, to interpret observations about the empowerment process within Inuit culture correctly and to use the understanding of Inuit culture as a basis for the cross-cultural analysis of the empowerment process.

This research involves empowering Inuit women working in arts and crafts. The context assumption requires the researcher to acquire knowledge relevant to this thesis such as Inuit history, the history of the Broughton Island area, the role of women as seamstresses in Inuit culture, and the aesthetic traditions of Inuit seamstresses. A review of information relevant to the context assumption is presented in Chapter 3.

The third assumption about empowerment relevant to this thesis is that disempowered individuals and collectives possess forgotten or unused competencies that can be enhanced by providing opportunities for them to be rediscovered and to flourish. Empowerment is encouraged by actualizing, re-energizing or improving upon individual or collective competencies (Gaboriau, 1993; Gutiérrez, 1990; Serrano-Garcia, 1984; Rappaport, 1987; Staples, 1990; Stevenson, 1992; Weil and Kruzich, 1990). Not only will competencies identified in this way be culturally and environmentally appropriate, they will be more likely to flourish and support empowerment since they will be more readily accepted and understood by the participants. Once activated, competencies can be used by individuals or collectives to sustain an empowerment process and take control over their futures.

The craft design workshop at the center of this research is structured around the activation of the Inuit women participant's traditional competency of sewing. A review of Inuit traditional activities and culture in Chapter 3 is used to show how sewing, clothing design and craft production in a communal setting are historic

competencies of Inuit women. The relevance and importance of those competencies to this research are also discussed.

The fourth assumption about empowerment relevant to this research is that local solutions are more empowering than single solutions applied in a general way (Rappaport, 1987; Stevenson, 1992). According to Rappaport (1987) "Empowerment is expected to be found in a diversity of apparently contradictory settings and programs, especially those in which the people of concern have a large and controlling voice in determining what takes place and how it is done. Such settings and programs can be expected to be found, and can be developed most easily, on a local rather than a grand scale" (p. 132). Since each situation is unique and solutions to social and developmental problems are divergent, a thorough understanding of the specific circumstances is necessary (Rappaport, 1987).

This fourth divergent solutions assumption is highly relevant to this research conducted among Inuit women in Broughton Island, Northwest Territories. Broughton Island is an extremely small, remote community in the eastern Canadian Arctic. Although there are many similarities between Broughton Island and other small, rural, Canadian communities, its geographic location and predominantly Inuit culture render it an unusual community. Therefore, it is unlikely that general solutions to community-based economic development issues which have worked for more southern Canadian communities would apply to Broughton Island. An assumption of this research is that for empowerment in Broughton Island to be encouraged through collaborative research, a unique solution derived from the local culture and circumstances had to be developed.

The fifth empowerment assumption relevant to this research is that the conditions of participation in a program will influence the empowerment of the members. The theme of encouraging empowerment by involving research subjects

in the development of their own solutions resonates through the empowerment literature (Delgado-Gaitan; 1993; Florin & Wandersman, 1990; Gaboriau, 1993; Gutiérrez, 1990; Keiffer, 1984; Minore & Hill, 1990; O'Brien & Pace, 1990; Rappaport,1985, 1987; Serrano-Garcia, 1984; Staples, 1990; Stevenson, 1992; Zimmerman, 1990). Delgado-Gaitan (1993) argues that, to catalyze or encourage empowerment, researchers must support participation of the researched. As her study evolved from one of literacy activities to one of community empowerment, the research participants and researcher worked together on research design, implementation and analysis (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993). In that study, increased levels of participation and involvement of the research subjects in the research activities was assumed to indicate an empowerment process existed (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993). In this thesis, this fifth participation assumption has strong implications for this thesis since it will examine how the conditions of participation of the craft workshop members in the research effected their empowerment .

The participation assumption is relevant to this research involving Inuit women and their sewing group. In order for them to become empowered, to develop feelings of competence, involvement, and control over the process, the participation assumption demands a method that allows for participation of the research subjects in the conception, implementation, and analysis of the research. By accepting this assumption for this thesis, the selection of the research methodology is limited to one flexible enough to allow inclusion of all interested parties to fully participate. Participatory action research (PAR) closely supports the participation assumption. This research was conceived, organized, and conducted at the request of the Minnguq Sewing Group, since, as a group they realized their need for further training, new ideas, and increased control over the development of their small craft business (J. Oakes, personal communication, 1991). Logically,

identification of local problems and needs is best left up to those who live with them and understand them. It is the role of empowering researchers and practitioners to assist in the refinement of the problems and needs along with devising ways to address them. The suitability of PAR to this project and the participation assumption is presented in greater detail in Chapter 4.

A sixth assumption relevant to this thesis is that the role and involvement of the researcher in the empowerment process will vary according to circumstances. However, her role and involvement in the empowerment process are important and must be considered. Empowering research using PAR methodology demands that the researcher go beyond neutral observation to be collaborative and supportive and a catalyst participating in and observing the empowerment process at the same time (Gutiérrez, 1990; Rappaport, 1987). Examples of researchers becoming deeply involved in the research and effecting an empowerment process exist in the literature. Delgado-Gaitan (1993) describes her deepening involvement as facilitator and informant to participants in her study of family literacy practices in southern California. The experience forced her to redefine her role within the research process as objective, detached observer to become an involved, influential individual both observing and effected by the empowerment process underway (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993).

This study of empowerment suggests questions about involvement of the researcher with the participants and its effect on the empowerment process. As researcher in this cross-cultural study of empowerment conducted with Inuit women participants, I worked closely with them for ten weeks. As the group grew closer and developed deeper relationships with each other, I became less of an observer and more of a participant. How did this researcher's increasing involvement in the empowerment process influence the process? For example, how

was I as a young, non-Inuit woman accepted and related to by the group? Did my personal circumstances, advanced technical skills, education and experience affect how the empowerment process developed and how I interacted with the participants? Did a sharing of each others academic and traditional knowledge help to foster a fertile environment in which an empowerment process could begin to develop? These questions and others are developed fully in the description and analysis of the empowerment process in Chapter 5.

The final empowerment assumption relevant to this thesis is that longitudinal research is desirable (Gaboriau, 1993). Since empowerment is a dynamic process that occurs over time(Rappaport, 1985,1987; Staples, 1990), long-term analysis is necessary to follow the empowerment process and assess its on-going effects on the participants (Gaboriau, 1993). However, time, funding, availability of participants and researchers and other factors can limit the opportunity to follow an empowerment process for many years. For example, time and funding constraints limited Gaboriau's (1993) study of empowerment in Fort Assiniboine, Alberta to eight days in the field. However, she (Gaboriau,1993) remained occasionally involved with the research participants for about one year after the field work concluded and documented the existence of the process up to that point. Conversely, Delgado-Gaitan (1993) was able to continue to study empowerment among the Latino community of Carpenteria, California for eight years. Her description and analysis of the empowerment process she observed is rich in detail and understanding.

During the research for this thesis, compromises between the limiting factors and adequately documenting the empowerment process under scrutiny were made. There was only enough funding and time for the researcher to be in Broughton Island for ten weeks during the summer of 1991. A follow-up visit was

not possible so the empowerment process being discussed in this thesis was only observed for a very short time. The implications of that compromise on the analysis of empowerment are addressed in Chapter 5.

A Definition of Empowerment

It is important to define empowerment for this thesis since the theory is used in several fields and its meaning may differ (Gutiérrez, 1990). For this thesis, empowerment is defined as in Rappaport (1987). In this section, definitions of empowerment from the literature are reviewed to identify and compare important elements.

Rappaport (1987) defines empowerment as "a process, a mechanism by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over their affairs" (p. 128). He assumes that the empowerment process occurs at individual and collective levels (Rappaport, 1987). Rappaport's (1987) definition can be separated into three parts: process, people and power. Actions such as discovering and developing competencies, encouraging participation, expanding knowledge, increasing awareness, and recognizing the role of culture and context are part of the empowerment process (Berenbaum, 1995; Florin & Wandersman, 1990; Gaboriau, 1993; Gutiérrez, 1990; Keiffer, 1984; Rappaport,1981, 1987; Serrano-Garcia, 1984; Staples, 1990; Stevenson, 1992; Zimmerman, 1990). This researcher assumes that these actions are necessary for the empowerment process to occur and has shaped them into the assumptions developed about the theory for this thesis.

Gutiérrez (1990), in her study of the empowerment of women in a cross cultural context, determined that empowerment is "a process of increasing personal, interpersonal, or political power so that individuals can take action to improve their

life situation" (p. 149). The similarities to Rappaport's (1987) definition are clear. Both authors see empowerment as a process, without discreet beginning or end, in which individuals engage in a series of actions to develop the power to effect change in their circumstances for the positive. However, Gutiérrez' (1990) definition of empowerment does not include development of concrete skills or the idea of the empowerment process occurring on individual and/or group levels as does this thesis. Since this research describes an empowerment process as it effects the individual workshop participants as well as the sewing group and is based on the rediscovery and development of competencies, Gutiérrez' (1990) definition of empowerment is not comprehensive enough for this thesis. However, Gaboriau (1993) developed a definition a empowerment theory that does express the relevant themes of empowerment for this thesis.

In the Caragana Project, Gaboriau (1993) defines empowerment as "a long term process of adult learning and development, wherein many competencies that are already present or possible, are given an opportunity to develop and new competencies are learned in the context of living" (Gaboriau, 1993, p. 12). This definition includes the familiar empowerment themes of a process occurring over time, increasing individual and group abilities, and people developing the power to direct and control their lives found in Rappaport (1985, 1987). However, Gaboriau (1993) broadened the definition to identify adult learning, skill rediscovery, and skill development over time as key to the process. This is very important to this thesis since this study of empowerment is situated within an adult learning situation in which the goal of discovering old and new competencies is central. For this thesis, those actions are integral to the empowerment process beginning and continuing and must be included. However, there is a theme missing from the

above definitions that is important to the definition of empowerment for this thesis and it is found in Berenbaum (1995).

Berenbaum (1995) believes that empowerment is not only a process but an act of "facilitating and maximizing opportunities for individuals, groups and communities to have control and authority over their own lives or circumstances. It is viewed as helping individuals, groups, or communities assess their own needs and work to addressing those needs" (p. 47). It explicitly acknowledges the role and boundaries of the practitioner or researcher in encouraging empowerment. She believes that the role of the researcher is important and will affect the empowerment process as does this author. Two final themes are included. The first is that individuals and groups cannot be empowered if they do not desire or see the need to become so (Labonte, 1989a in Berenbaum, 1995). Also, mere participation of individuals or groups, without an understanding of and a commitment to the process, does not necessarily lead to empowerment (O'Neil, 1992 in Berenbaum, 1995).

Rappaport's (1987) definition clearly expresses the goal of the theory, increased mastery, who may benefit from empowerment, individuals and/or groups, and states what is required, a process - a series of empowering actions. Rappaport's (1987) definition is consistent with the assumptions about empowerment theory developed for this thesis. It allows for unlimited interpretation as to who may be involved in the empowerment process and which empowering actions may be part of the process. Thus it clearly reflects the assumptions that empowerment is unique to each situation, that divergent solutions are desired and that the participants and researcher will effect the empowerment process with their culture, latent competencies, experience and expectations.

Community-based Economic Development Literature Review

In this section the main principles of community-based economic development are reviewed. To provide a historical context for that review, a brief description of development in the Canadian north is provided. That description will indicate that the post WW2 growth oriented development model did not result in successful development and that a new model for northern development is required. Then the links between community-based economic development and empowerment are reviewed to show that the community-based economic development model is relevant empowerment theory and to this thesis.

The history of development of the northern Canadian territories is highly complex involving foreign states, private companies, religious orders, the Canadian authorities, and numerous aboriginal groups (Newman, 1991; Pretes, 1988: Stabler & Howe, 1990). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to review that development in detail. However, there are several trends unique to Canadian northern development that affect this study of empowerment and community-based economic development.

The development of the northern territory is unique since that development was not conducted according to state policy but by private corporations. The most prominent was the Hudson Bay Company (Newman, 1991; Pretes, 1988: Stabler & Howe, 1990). The Canadian government was not actively involved in the North since it was preoccupied by its efforts to unite southern Canada from the Atlantic to the Pacific. The Hudson Bay Company "concerned with generating profits through resource extraction, while the colonial governments were interested in both successful economic development from which they too could profit, as well as the occupation of lands that might otherwise fall to rival nations" (Pretes, 1988), p.

114). After World War Two, sparked by both Greenlandic and American attention to lands north of Baffin Island, the Canadian government was compelled to act to ward them off.

Inuit became part Canada's post WW2 drive to settle people in communities so Canada's sovereignty would not be challenged by other circumpolar nations or the United States. The Canadian government began a northern campaign of public spending on health care, housing, education, development of a northern bureaucratic infrastructure, and exploitation of non-renewable resources to prove to the world that the northern territory was already settled and administered by Canadians (Newman, 1991; Tester & Kulchyski, 1994). Conception and development of those northern communities was directed without input from local Inuit and numerous errors were made (Tester & Kulchyski, 1994; Weissling, 1991). Weissling (1991) states that:

> ...policy throughout the 1950s was directed at integrating Inuit into Canadian society and perpetuating their socio-economic activities based on principles and systems from southern Canada. Officials seemed sincere in their desire to benefit the Inuit, recognized that change was not always easy, and provided the Inuit with development inputs and programs to integrate them into a market economy. Government plans and directives, however, were made by southerners and motivated by knowledge and socio-economic systems foreign to the Arctic. Many development inputs, then, were planned on an ad hoc basis without fully analyzing the effects they would have at a local level. (p. 124).

These historical circumstances have created the contemporary situation in the North. A few very large, not always permanent mining and resource exploration

projects that generate limited employment for northerners and numerous, very small, isolated communities utterly dependent on government for services and jobs.

The post WW2 development model did not result in successful development in the Arctic. That growth model depended on the application of general development rules appropriate in western culture to the unusual Arctic circumstances that required very specific solutions that involved local knowledge and people for success. A more suitable model exists within the discipline of community-based economic development (CED).

CED emphasizes development of permanent infrastructure as small businesses and community organizations to focus the involvement and empowerment of local people (Lewis, 1994). Stevenson (1992) establishes the connection between economics, business, and empowerment:

> It is particularly important to acknowledge the importance of the role of economy in community empowerment and self-sufficiency. Without a sustainable economic base, northern and native communities must ultimately rely on outside funding to support social and other services, thus jeopardizing control. Just as importantly, productive activity and the maintenance of productive relationships engenders a sense of self-worth and well-being that self-defeating behaviors such as substance abuse, domestic violence, etc. so effectively extinguish (p. 4).

For this thesis, on an empowerment process within a northern small business, CED is relevant. Community-based economic development provides new ways to look at development which involve local people, and local knowledge and are appropriate to individual development situations in scale and style (Lewis, 1994). CED also recognizes that culture plays an important role in the development of local small businesses and organizations(Robinson and Ghostkeeper, 1987).

CED has been defined as follows:

> Community-based economic development is a comprehensive, multi-faceted strategy for the revitalization of community economies, with a special relevance to communities under economic and social stress. Through the development of organizations and institutions, resources and alliances are put in place that are democratically controlled by the community. They mobilize local resources (people, finances, technical expertise, and real property) in partnership with resources from outside the community for the purpose of empowering community members to create and manage new and expanded businesses, specialized institutions, and organizations (Lewis, 1994, p. 5).

The objective of community-based economic development is to assist communities to acquire the skills and knowledge required to develop new infrastructure and systems for the benefit of the community instead of continuing to adapt to old, inappropriate ones (Swack and Mason, 1987 in Lewis, 1994).

CED Relevance to Empowerment and This Thesis

The assumptions of empowerment theory and community-based economic development have much in common. Both community-based economic development and empowerment are considered processes that occur over time. In both CED and empowerment, there are references to the micro and macro levels at which they can occur and the effect of the interaction between the levels on the process. Expressed in the both theories, is the reliance on participation of local individuals and groups for success. Collaboration with outside professionals is important in both theories. By collaborating with local participants, the professionals can assist them to define local issues and identify local competencies

and resources that might contribute to the solution. Finally, the central assumption of both CED and empowerment is that the objective of the action is to improve the quality of life of those involved. Community-based economic development also recognizes that social and cultural development must occur with economic development for the process to convey benefits to the community and to endure (Lewis, 1994).

The application of CED principles to this thesis is appropriate since the workshop to be described and analyzed has business related objectives. Ultimately, the Inuit women participants intended to learn to expand their craft product line to increase their sales and expand their small business. However, those participants view their business both as a revenue generator and as a community cultural resource. As such, the Minnguq business is supported by the community of Broughton Island since it is widely understood that Minnguq benefits not only its employees but the entire community.

Chapter 3

Contextual Literature Review

Sound contextual knowledge of the research participant's history, culture and circumstances are assumed as a necessary part of empowerment research. The author assumes that contextual knowledge about Inuit participating in the research will enable her to identify latent competencies that can be used by the research participants in a CED program to foster an empowerment process. Furthermore, it will qualify her to describe, analyze and interpret observations about the empowerment process as it occurs in the context of the local Inuit culture.

In the first section of this chapter, literature about Inuit origins from the earliest known evidence of settlement in the eastern Arctic to the post contact days of Inuit settlement into western style communities is reviewed. This information provides an understanding of how Inuit once lived on the land and developed into the people included in this contemporary research. In the second section of this chapter, literature describing historic Inuit skin clothing styles and construction techniques is reviewed. This research is conducted within a craft product design workshop based on the traditional competencies of Inuit seamstresses, so a thorough knowledge of Inuit aesthetic traditions and sewing techniques is essential. This researcher must know these techniques to work with the Inuit women participating in the workshop and to observe how rediscovering the techniques supports the empowerment process. In the final section literature about the geographical location of the study, Broughton Island, Northwest Territories and the Minnguq Sewing Group are reviewed to provide knowledge of the local circumstances of the research.

Inuit Origins and Settlement in the Eastern Canadian Arctic

The territory now considered the Canadian circumpolar north has been peopled by a number of different groups for at least 4000 years (Brody, 1987; Maxwell, 1984). The earliest known culture to have settled in the eastern Arctic was the Pre-Dorset. Archeological excavations of Pre-Dorset sites in the Baffin region have uncovered evidence of seal and caribou skin tailoring activity in the form of bone awls, ivory needles, and carved, tubular needle cases (Maxwell, 1984). Clearly, sewing has been an important, highly developed skill among northern aboriginal people for centuries.

The period in which the Dorset culture emerged from the Pre-Dorset is considered to be 800 B.C. to 500 B.C. (Maxwell, 1984). The shift may have been precipitated by a marked cooling of the climate and an increase in sea-ice hunting (Maxwell, 1984). Evidence of skin tailoring of the Dorset people was found; remnants of cut and stitched skins were recovered as well as ivory and bone needles and stone micro blades (Maxwell, 1984). Significantly, "A sealskin boot fragment from the Nanook site was identical to the modern kamik, with bearded seal skin sole, harp seal instep, and ring seal upper." (Maxwell, 1984, p. 365). This clearly shows the importance of northern aboriginal women's sewing skills to have endured for centuries and to still be known today.

With the arrival of the Thule people who moved east from northern Alaska, the Dorset culture was absorbed or disappeared (Maxwell, 1984; McGhee, 1984). Again a climatic change, this time a warming after 900 AD, prompted the Thule to move into newly opened areas to hunt whales (McGhee, 1984). McGhee (1984) states that by about 1300 AD, the Thule culture populated most of the central and

eastern Arctic region. Interestingly, "there was increased regional diversification of Thule material culture, probably resulting from regional isolation and the development of local types of economic adaptation" (McGhee, 1984). These newly developed groups were probably the beginning of the historic Canadian Eskimo tribes (McGhee, 1984).

A 'Little Ice Age' between 1650 and 1850 is identified as the probable cause of a reduction in Thule whaling activity (McGhee, 1984). As adaptation to changing conditions proceeded, the above mentioned regional isolation and development continued and these now distinct groups transformed in the Eskimo tribes identified with specific areas of the North. Mathiassen (1927) first identified the completion of this transition in the north Baffin Island region and the historic group Baffin Island Eskimo. These regional distinctions among Inuit persist today. It is important to be aware of them when conducting empowerment research since these regional distinctions effect local competencies, culture and circumstances.

Gender Roles and Division of Labor in Inuit Culture

Historically, care of the family and sewing embodied the Inuit female role. Musmaker-Giffen (1930) states "The making of clothing is one of the Eskimo women's most important functions, since a man is helpless if he has no one to make his clothes" (p. 33). Sewing of the new clothing took place during the summer and fall months during which time Inuit women made entirely new sets of clothing for their husbands and children (Driscoll, 1987). Clothing repair was done whenever necessary. Maintenance of skin clothing in a clean and attractive condition was very important since it showed respect for the animals used to make it (Issenman,

1985). Young girls learned to sew from their mothers (Driscoll, 1987; Myers, 1980).

The man's most important role in Inuit culture, that of hunter, made him a provider of food and skins for clothing production (Musmaker-Giffen, 1930). Men also made all the tools required for clothing manufacture such as ulus, bone and ivory needles and needle cases (Issenman, 1985; Musmaker-Giffen, 1930). Thus, the roles of women and men were complementary and provided for efficient, productive organization of labor. The contemporary research setting within the craft design workshop mirrors this traditional division of roles by gender: the women of the craft group sew seal skins provided by the male hunters of the community.

Historic Inuit Skin Clothing - Aesthetics and Construction

Historically, Inuit mastery over local renewable resources - seal, caribou, fish, and bird skins, sinew and bone, gave them means to survive and thrive in the harsh northern climate. Skin clothing, sewn by Inuit women, was not only warm and functional, it was fashionable and stylistically specific to regions and communities (Driscoll, 1980, 1997; Issenman, 1982, 1985; Myers, 1980; Oakes, 1987, 1989). This clothing, made using very complex tailoring techniques long before similar techniques were used in Europe, is evidence of the great skill and clothing construction knowledge of Inuit seamstresses (Issenman, 1982, 1985).

The style of Inuit clothing differed by sex and provided a material expression of female and male roles within Inuit society (Driscoll, 1987). The man's parka, made of the furs of the animal he was hunting served a dual purpose; to camouflage the hunter from his prey, and to help him to identify with that prey about to give itself up for the nourishment of the community. The women's parka, the amautik,

was also connected to animal life. However, the maternal role of women was the one most emphasized by the design of the amautik. The amaut, or pouch, underneath the hood on the back of the parka served as a second womb for young children (Driscoll, 1980, 1987; Issenman, 1985).

Driscoll (1987) identified three geographic regions of clothing style within northern Canada and Alaska; the Mackenzie region, the central Canadian region, and the eastern Canadian region. Further study of Inuit skin clothing of the eastern Canadian region provides evidence for a distinct Baffin Inuit design and style of ornamentation (Driscoll, 1980; Oakes, 1989). Men's traditional parkas were hooded, of thigh length, had a neck opening and sported a long tail, or 'akuq', which hung down from the center back hem (Driscoll, 1980). Those women's traditional amautik was roomier and more complex tailoring was used to incorporate the pouch, or 'amaut', and short apron, or 'kiniq', into the design (Driscoll, 1980). Men's and women's traditional parkas of the Baffin region were ornamented by insetting broad bands of light and dark haired skins along the hemline, hood and arms of the parka and amautik (Driscoll, 1980).

Oakes (1989) reports a contemporary Baffin style as emerging in the early 1920's. The style no longer features a tail, and has a straight hemline often cut slightly longer in the back. According to Driscoll (1987) some amautik with shorter tail and front apron are seen in the Baffin region. Men's parka hemlines are cut straight across, are still thigh length, and have short slits in the sides or center front to make the parkas easier to take on or off. The winter caribou parka or amautik is fringed along the hemline with cut caribou skin. Ornamentation with inset broad bands of light and dark haired skins is still used along the hemline, arm and hood of the Baffin style parka and amautik (Oakes, 1989).

Chun (1992, 1993), Myers (1980), and Oakes (1987) provide documentation of the gender differences in ornamentation of men's and women's kamiks of the Baffin region. Hair direction on the men's kamik runs from the top of the leg down. Ornamentation, usually a stripe or geometric motif, is placed vertically down the front of the leg of the men's kamik. Hair direction and ornamentation of the women's kamik run horizontally around the leg. Today, Baffin region seamstresses use the same inset technique to design kamiks with floral motifs, words, and other graphic symbols (Chun, 1992; Oakes, 1987).

Post Contact

First contact between Baffin Island Eskimo and Europeans occurred in 1576 when the explorer Martin Frobisher was in the area (Kemp, 1984). Over time, whaling activity increased in the region until 1850, when contact between most Baffin Island Eskimo and whalers was common. Marine mammals, fish, caribou were the most important renewable source of food and materials for clothing manufacture. After whaling activity waned in 1870, fur trapping became an increasingly important activity for Inuit (Kemp, 1984). According to Boas (1988) and Ross (1975) (cited in Kemp, 1984) it began the cycle of Inuit dependence on outsiders and the introduction of disease.

The economic history of Inuit and the Hudson Bay Company in the eastern Arctic have been described in detail (Newman, 1991; Purich, 1992; Wenzel, 1991). Inuit participated in whaling with Europeans to obtain trade goods and tools more useful and durable than their own. When the demand for baleen and whale oil waned and few large whales remained, European interest turned to seals and Arctic fox. As the trading relationships became established, Inuit hunters became

dependent on sales of fox and seal pelts to the HBC for trade goods and hunting implements (Newman, 1991; Purich, 1992; Weissling, 1991; Wenzel, 1991). Fur demand declined sharply after 1930, devastating the Baffin region economy. When the world fur trade collapsed "The value of a white fox pelt dropped from forty dollars to near ten dollars. Starvation became commonplace. The need to deal with this situation would eventually bring about a major change in the Inuit's relationship with the federal government: Canada's estimated 7,700 Inuit became wards of the state" (Purich, 1992, p. 42).

During the post World War II period, those wards of the state were settled by the Canadian federal government out of their hunting camps and into the communities we know in the North today. This development occurred as a direct result of Canadian government attempts to finally establish complete Canadian sovereignty over the North and to provide health and education services to her newest Canadians, the Inuit (Weissling, 1991). The centralization of Inuit population required further adaptation of Inuit subsistence practices (Wenzel, 1991). Increased distances between communities and hunting areas required Inuit hunters to adopt increasingly capital intensive methods of hunting again increasingly exposing them to the vagaries of the commercial fur market (Wenzel, 1991).

In the late 1970's and 1980's an ever strengthening European campaign against commercial sealing in Canada, combined with a half-hearted Canadian attempt to counter the protest resulted in an outright ban against seal fur imports by the European Community (Wenzel, 1991). The mixed, subsistence-based economies of Inuit communities were devastated. Condon, Collings, and Wenzel (1995) state that northern communities experienced "the eradication of commercial seal hunting and trapping as viable cash-generating activities" (p. 32). Inuit

Tapiritsat of Canada (1978 in Wenzel, 1991) "cited reports from Broughton Island that sealskin prices had dropped from $25.00 to $5.00 in the space of one year and that economic assistance was desperately needed in every Inuit hunting community" (p. 148). Contemporary economic conditions in the underdeveloped, eastern Arctic communities still bear evidence of the damage wreaked by the seal fur ban on commercial hunting (Wenzel, 1991).

Geographic Location of the Study - Broughton Island, Northwest Territories

The hamlet of Broughton Island is situated on a rocky island of the same name on the east coast of Baffin Island, 67 degrees north longitude and 64 degrees west latitude (Northwest Territories Data Book, 1990; Parrish, 1991) (see Figure 1). The population of the community was 461 in 1991. It is comprised of 439 Inuit, 2 Metis, and 20 non-Aboriginal individuals (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1993). Its Inuktitut name is Kikitarjuak (S. Kooneeluisie, personal communication, 1991).

Several groups of Inuit lived on or near Broughton Island during the first half of the twentieth century. The movement toward settlement in a central community began after the establishment of four Distant Early Warning Line sites in the area in 1955. RCMP reports from that time document problems with Inuit loitering near the Kivitoo and Padloping Island bases (Weissling, 1991). In the late 1950's, the situation was reported as worsening with living conditions reported as poor, and serious illness becoming increasingly prevalent. In 1960 a school and Hudson Bay Company post were built on Broughton Island, making the settlement there attractive to Inuit in area outpost camps (Weissling, 1991).

An important year in the development of the Broughton Island settlement was 1963. According to RCMP reports, 2 hunters were drowned who were the sole supporters of the 40 person Kivitoo band (Weissling, 1991). As a result, the entire group was settled into the Broughton Island community where food and shelter were available (Weissling, 1991). By 1968 the Padloping Island hunting camp was abandoned by its residents in favor of Broughton Island and its Hudson Bay Company store (Weissling, 1991). Also in 1968, the federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development established a cooperative for carvings and handicrafts. According to Weissling (1991), this cooperative was the first source of income for Inuit women in the Broughton Island region.

Today, Baffin Island Eskimos occupy the southern two-thirds of the island in six coastal communities: Clyde River, Broughton Island, Pangnirtung, Frobisher Bay (now called Iqaluit), Lake Harbor, and Cape Dorset (Kemp, 1984. They refer to themselves as the "Nunatsiaqmiut 'people of the beautiful land'" (Kemp, 1984, p. 475).

Today, Broughton Island is considered a small, underdeveloped community characterized by its isolation, limited market potential, mostly native population, low levels of education and employment and relatively high number of inhabitants practicing a subsistence lifestyle (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1990). There are two community stores, Northern Store and Tulugak Co-Op, which sell food, camping equipment, tools, clothing and household items. Relative to southern Canadian cities, food and consumer goods are very expensive. According to the Government of the Northwest Territories (1993), the cost of a nutritious diet for a family of four per week in Broughton Island in 1991 was $298.00 compared to the Canadian average of only $116.98. The Tulugak Co-Op also owns and operates the local hotel. Demand for hotel rooms peaks during the spring and summer months

when construction workers, government officials, and researchers visit the community. The cost of a single night accommodation, including meals, during the summer of 1991 was $185.00 per night.

Economic and employment activities consist of renewable resource harvesting, tourism, arts and crafts production, local public works, and government employment (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1990; Parrish, 1991). Although a precise count of women involved in crafts in Broughton Island is not available, it is known that 41% of native women, fifteen years and over in the Baffin region, were involved in the production and sale of traditional crafts in 1989 (Government of the Northwest Territories, 1990).

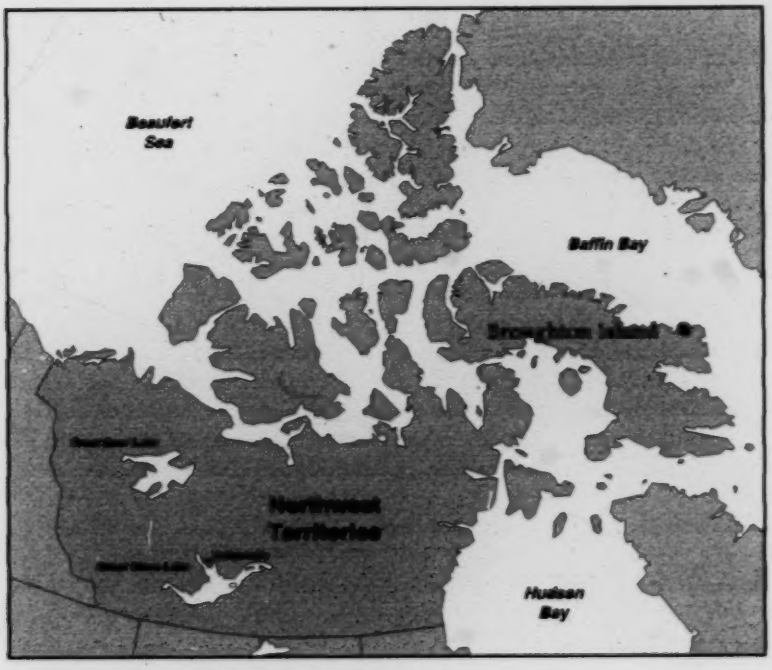

Figure 1. Location of Broughton Island, Northwest Territories

The Minnguq Sewing Group

The Minnguq Sewing Group began in Broughton Island in the early 1970's as an informal business/social group that produced and sold traditional sealskin kamiks (Chun, 1993; Parrish, 1991). Seamstresses met at each other's homes until a small building was provided for them by the Hamlet of Broughton Island in 1973 (Chun, 1993). Improvements have been made to the building and it is now owned by Minnguq Sewing Group (Chun, 1993; Parrish, 1991).

During the 1980's, Minnguq Sewing Group began to formalize its business administration. It established a local board of directors, and received funding from the federal and territorial governments to hire a management trainee and fund product development workshops with local seamstresses (Chun, 1993) (S. Parrish, personal communtication, 1991). Industrial sewing machines, a fax machine, and two freezers for skin storage were also purchased (Chun, 1993). An Inuit woman from Holman Island conducted a craft product workshop on stuffed animals, slippers, and mitts (Chun, 1993). B.J. Sandiford, owner of a sealskin craft and parka shop in Iqaluit, held a similar workshop with seamstresses at Minnguq Sewing Group in 1989-90. Three other non-Inuit individuals, Val Kosmenko, the researcher, and Zarah Chun continued the product development work in 1991 and 1992 (Chun, 1993; Tuchak, 1991).

Chapter 4

Methods

This chapter is about the research method chosen for this thesis and why it is appropriate for empowerment research among aboriginal people. The first section of this chapter contains a literature review of three research methods considered for this research: ethnography, phenomenology and participatory action research. A comparison, discussion and rationale for the final selection of participatory action research as the research method for this thesis is provided. The second section of this chapter contains a description of how the research was organized and conducted according to participatory action research principles.

Choice of Research Method

An ethnographic approach was considered for this research on empowerment. Ethnography is an avenue of scientific inquiry that seeks to describe human societies. According to Van Maanen (1988) "The trick of ethnography is to adequately display the culture (or, more commonly, parts of the culture) in a way that is meaningful to readers without great distortion" (p. 13). This approach has been used to study Inuit in the east Arctic region (Boas, 1888; Briggs, 1974; Matthiason, 1927; Matthiason, 1992; Steffanson, 1914; Rasmussen, 1942). Critics have likened ethnographers to 'intellectual tourists' who drop into exotic locales to observe, to document, return home to write up their findings and benefit from their publication (Van Maanen, 1988). Criticism notwithstanding, ethnographic studies of Inuit are a rich source of information particularly about Inuit traditional life on

the land, clothing preparation and clothing style during the initial Inuit-European contact period (Boas, 1888; Briggs, 1974; Matthiason, 1927; Matthiason, 1992; Steffanson, 1914; Rasmussen, 1942). However, ethnography does not provide for proactive collaboration between the researcher and the researched with the goal of effecting positive change for and among the group under scrutiny. Thus an ethnographic approach was unsuitable for this project in which collaboration was a goal.

A phenomenological approach was also considered. Through experience, the goal of phenomenology is to offer more insightful descriptions of the way in which the world is experienced than previously available (Van Manen, 1990). This method provides for participation by the researcher since in the phenomenological mode the lived experience being described is not only that of the research subject, but of the researcher as well. The inter-subjectivity of the phenomenological process must be noted: "a good phenomenological description is collected by lived experience and recollects lived experience - is validated by lived experience and it validates lived experience" (Van Manen, 1990, p. 27). However, phenomenology does not provide opportunities for the researcher and researched to collaborate with the goal of changing and improving how the world is experienced. Since phenomenology does not provide for that kind of collaborative interaction it was considered unsuitable for this research project on empowerment among Inuit craftswomen.

The participatory action research approach (PAR) was also considered and was chosen as the method for this research. The objectives of PAR are several. The first objective is social investigation with the goal of developing critical consciousness among people. The next objective of PAR is education to reactivate and build people's capacity. The third objective of PAR is to engage in actions to

change or eliminate structures of oppression. The fourth objective of PAR is collaboration between researcher and participants to achieve the objectives (Brown, 1985; Hoare, Levy, & Robinson, 1993). Participatory action research is the most suitable method for this thesis since it provides methodological guidance for collaborating on research with aboriginal people in the North (Legat, 1994; Masuzumi & Quirk, 1993). Assumptions of the PAR method relate closely to those of empowerment theory. The following section contains a description of PAR and a discussion of its links to empowerment theory to support the contention of its suitability as the method for this research.

Social investigation to develop critical consciousness among participants in research is an objective of PAR (Brown, 1985; Hoare, Levy & Robinson, 1993; Ryan & Robinson, 1990). Researchers using PAR aim, with the involvement of local individuals, to understand local circumstances and then to plan strategies for increasing participant's awareness of local circumstances and issues. PAR and empowerment both have assumptions that increasing the consciousness of the research participants is important. Increased consciousness builds knowledge and helps individuals and groups to understand how they fit into their world. With increased consciousness and understanding, individuals and groups have tools to plan strategies to transform their lives and organizations (Hoare, Levy, & Robinson, 1993).

Education to reactivate and build people's capacity is another objective of PAR (Brown, 1985; Hoare, Levy, & Robinson, 1993; Legat, 1994; Ryan & Robinson, 1990). With increased skills and awareness, local participants are equipped to manage and change their circumstances. However, the education process referred to is different from typical education that is based on planned, standardized content (Brown, 1985). As an education process, PAR requires interactive settings where

participants learn from each other and share the responsibility for disseminating information (Brown, 1985; Hoare, Levy, & Robinson, 1993; Legat, 1994; Ryan & Robinson, 1990).

PAR is also a goal oriented method in which social transformation is sought through cooperative knowledge generation, sharing of skills, and information between professionals and local participants (Legat, 1994; Ryan & Robinson, 1990). As action or intervention "Organizational innovations by participants and researchers can catalyze developmental changes" (Brown, 1985, p. 74). Action based on increased consciousness, rediscovered and/or new capacities can enable groups to devise a more positive and appropriate future for their community.

PAR and empowerment both incorporate assumptions of collaboration between researcher and researched to achieve common goals of social transformation and developing competencies. This is in sharp contrast to the past pattern of research and development in the North in which local aboriginal people were not consulted or included in decision making or planning for their communities (Tester & Kulchyski, 1991). Inappropriate development programs that did not fit the local cultures and circumstances were imposed on these groups by government agencies (Hoare, Levy, & Robinson, 1993). Without local involvement and support, these development projects could not be successfully implemented. Use of the PAR methodology increases the likelihood that projects will be successful and that empowerment of those being researched will be a priority of the research project. The participation assumption from empowerment theory is reflected in a PAR objective of breaking down barriers between researcher and participant by empowering participants to be involved in the research (Fals-Borda & Rahman, 1991; Legat, 1994; Masuzumi & Quirk, 1993; Ryan & Robinson, 1990). Participants in a PAR project can direct research design, conduct research, gather

and analyze data, disseminate findings and publish the research. The roles of researcher and participants in a research project vary depending on how the roles have been negotiated during the research proposal stage (Masuzumi & Quirk, 1993).

PAR focuses on single cases and contextual analysis rather than the application of general principles to a variety of research questions (Brown, 1985; Hoare, Levy, & Robinson, 1993). This objective of PAR is directly synchronous with the empowerment assumptions that the context of the research must be understood, will influence the research process, and that local solutions are more empowering than single solutions applied in a general way.

To learn how other researchers used PAR when doing research with northern aboriginal people a search for PAR case studies was conducted. Ryan and Robinson (1990) conducted a PAR project with the Gwich'in people of the western NWT. In their description of the project Ryan and Robinson (1990) repeat the strong PAR themes of local control and ownership of the project contingent upon local people to provide knowledge, act as teachers, writers, and or advisors. The stated project goals were "to provide native people with the skills which will allow them to recover local control of education and to start on the road to full self-government. Another goal is to provide a model project which can be utilized in any community" (Ryan & Robinson, 1990, p. 61). The participants were involved in collecting local oral histories, in learning to transform the data into school curriculum, and in accumulating widely applicable administrative skills (Ryan & Robinson, 1990). Upon completion of the project, the researchers left the northern community but the knowledge and experience remained for the benefit of the people.

The PAR method reflects the empowerment assumption that the researcher will influence the research participants and the empowerment process. Rappaport (1987) identified a key role for the researcher: as change agent in collaboration with the people or organization in the setting. In PAR research, the increased subjectivity and personal involvement are not considered to compromise the validity of the research findings (Hoare, Levy, & Robinson, 1993; Legat, 1994).

Methods

In early 1991, the members of the Minnguq Sewing Group decided that to expand upon their existing product line they required additional expertise and assistance. They made a request to the local economic development officer Shane Parrish, to hold a craft product development workshop in Broughton Island so that they could learn more about craft product design and development, new sewing skills and their markets (J. Oakes, personal communication,1991). planning of the craft product development workshop and preparations for this researcher's arrival in Broughton Island were made by Shane Parrish, Economic Development Officer, and Jill Oakes, of the University of Alberta. The researcher became involved in the project after the planning was completed and the schedule for the project established. I prepared for the Broughton Island project by studying literature about Inuit in the region, traditional Inuit clothing styles and methods of construction, northern craft design and marketing, and by purchasing various fabrics, notions, and sewing patterns that could be used to inspire new craft product ideas during the workshop.

The researcher traveled to Broughton Island on June 7, 1991 and remained in the community until August 8, 1991. Upon arrival the researcher accompanied a

large group of Inuit from Broughton Island on a 4 day seal hunting and fishing trip at Aiyuittuq National Park. Many of the women who participated in the workshop or were associated with the Minnguq Sewing Group were part of this group. It was a good time to get acquainted. Upon returning to the community the researcher prepared to begin the product development phase of the project. Supplies brought to Broughton Island by the researcher were unpacked and organized at the craft center and the researcher became familiar with her surroundings.

While in the community, the researcher facilitated the 10 week craft product development workshop with six Inuit participants at the Minnguq Craft Center. The workshop began June 11, 1991. Sessions were conducted each weekday from 9:00AM to 5:00PM. A lunch break was taken from 12:00PM to 1:00PM in addition to morning and afternoon tea breaks. Participant's time in the workshop was documented by the Minnguq office manager trainee and paychecks were issued by her every second Friday afternoon. Participants received a wage of $11.00 per hour. Payment of wages to individuals in research and training programs is widely accepted, in fact, expected in the North. The wages were paid to encourage the women to begin and remain in the program. The wages also helped the participants to offset employment related expenses such as baby sitting.

The workshop group consisted of six Inuit women from Broughton Island, the researcher, and Minnguq Sewing Group members. The latter did not participate full time but dropped in whenever they were able. Two of the more senior women and had the most traditional sewing knowledge and skills. One of the older women had also been one of the driving forces behind the establishment and continuation of the Minnguq Sewing Group for several years. She had made a strong commitment to the center and its potential to create tradition-related employment for local men and women as well as to provide a living demonstration of Inuit traditional skills

and culture for local young people. The other, younger women, had varying levels of sewing and design skills at the beginning of the program. For example, one of the younger women had very little sewing experience when she first began while another was already quite skilled and made beautiful miniature items such as kamik zipper pulls.

The empowerment literature was consulted to provide insight into specific techniques the researcher could use to accomplish the objectives of participatory action research, and to foster an empowerment process during the workshop. Gutiérrez (1990) suggests several techniques that could be used to foster an empowerment process with individual or collective clients. The following section will describe how this research protocol conformed to Gutiérrez' (1990) guidelines for empowering praxis.

The first technique identified by Gutiérrez (1990) is to accept the client's definition of the problem. The wish of the Minnguq Sewing Group to learn more about craft product design and developing a product line was acknowledged as the objective for the workshop. Clearly, that objective was most important for the Inuit women participants who live in Broughton Island. Although not averse to participating in research, the objectives of expanding the Minnguq product line and learning new sewing skills were most important for them.

The next techniques identified by Gutiérrez (1990) are to identify and build on existing strengths and to teach specific skills as a facilitator. In the workshop setting, the researcher worked with the participants to identify and practice existing sewing skills and to learn new ones. The daily sessions were intense, hands-on periods of interaction between the researcher and participants. The participants began to develop patterns and construction methods for product ideas supplied by the researcher based on advance market research done by Dr. J. Oakes in

preparation for the project. The researcher circulated among the women during the workshop observing their activity, making suggestions, demonstrating sewing techniques and encouraging the women to exchange information and suggestions with each other. As the workshop progressed the participant's sewing and design skill levels increased as new and rediscovered techniques were practiced and mastered.

Other, non-sewing skills were introduced and practiced. For example, the researcher noticed that no promotion about the Minnguq Sewing Group was done locally, territorially, or nationally. The researcher introduced the concepts of promotion and publicity to the group to show how important they are to growth in sales and brand recognition. Various strategies for promoting and publicizing their activities were taught to and practiced by the participants. For example, they learned to prepare announcements to be read over local radio and to prepare press releases to be sent to interested media outlets.

Another technique for encouraging empowerment suggested by Gutiérrez (1990) is to engage the participant's in a power analysis of their situation. The researcher attempted to engage the participants in an analysis of their circumstances and in deeper discussions about their activities in several ways. Discussions were held with the group and individual participants about the kinds of products they were interested in designing, how to begin, and how to complete the item in question. Group meetings were held to discuss progress made in the workshop, new design inspirations, and suggestions for improving the workshop as it progressed. The researcher attempted to engage participants in less formal discussions while seated together to sew.

The workshop participants were encouraged by the researcher to voice their thoughts and concerns at any time during the session. At first the women were reticent and the researcher wrote on June 28th,

> "Work is progressing. I feel that now people are beginning to discuss ideas with me. They were pretty shy"

To provide a forum for discussion the researcher allotted time to hold group meetings as had another empowerment researcher using PAR methodology (Gaborriau, 1993). However, on some of the days the group was so busy with production, preparing for visits or anticipating the weekend that the meetings were missed. Furthermore, the group meeting format was not as fertile ground for idea generation and discussion as the researcher had hoped. The researcher wrote on July 7th,

> "The meetings have been OK. At first it was really hard to get people to talk to me. They are more open now but are not really talkative. Friday afternoons are not a good time in summer. Everyone just wants to get out of here. I am trying to switch the days around. For these last weeks I will try two meetings; Wednesday and Friday mornings."

The group meeting strategy was unproductive due to a number of factors. First, the women were shy and unaccustomed to speaking out with an unfamiliar, non Inuit person present. Second, there was a language barrier since the researcher does not speak Inuktitut and not all the women spoke English. Those women that did speak English found it difficult and exhausting to translate all that was being said. Third, the women were trying to learn to design craft products for a far away, urban market that they did not know or understand. Initially they were at a loss for new ideas for items to design and they suggested items that were part of the typical craft repertoire of many northern craft producers already. Clearly the participants

were unable to brainstorm new ideas without some exposure to their customer's identities, wants, and expectations.

The group meeting strategy, although not very useful in this example of empowerment research, should not be eliminated from researcher's data collection repertoire. Group discussions could be very useful with groups that possess greater background knowledge in the matter for discussion. Also, long standing groups in which members are comfortable about speaking out are likely to respond more favorably to group discussions than in this instance. Culture was also an issue in the group discussions. In Inuit culture, valuable personal traits include a calm temperament, acceptance of one's role in life and the ability to work hard to contribute to group well-being (Briggs, 1970). However, group discussions require other abilities, such as being out-spoken, critical and willing to engage in debate.

Although the group discussion strategy did not help the researcher to gather much information, observation of the women as they worked, interaction with the women on an individual basis, and interviews with various seamstresses associated with Minnguq generated interesting insights of the women's views and lives. This occurred for a number of reasons. Since the women were more open and comfortable in the less formal, activity based setting of the production area, conversation flowed naturally and the researcher was able to quietly observe, pose the occasional comment or question, and learn without being intrusive. Those insights, as they are related to empowerment are presented in Chapter 5.

The final technique suggested by Gutiérrez (1990) to encourage empowerment is to mobilize resources and advocate for clients. The researcher worked to mobilize resources for the participants of this research. Upon completion of the workshop, the researcher prepared a report of all activities undertaken and prototypes completed from notes kept during the project. The report included

sketches of all craft designs made during the workshop, the construction method used, the production cost, the suggested retail price for the item and a list of suppliers of craft materials not available in the community. This information was bound and presented to the Minnguq Sewing Group as an information resource to be used after the researcher had left the community. Additional copies of final product patterns were made and stored as a backup in case original patterns were damaged or lost.

Documentation of all workshop related activities was conducted by the researcher using participant observation, unstructured interviews, group discussions, photography, sketches, and analysis of prototype products. The program was hands-on. The researcher was continually involved in product design, construction, and documentation during workshop hours. In addition, some time was spent assisting the office management trainee and repairing the shop sewing machines. Since the days in the workshop were so busy, many observations noted during the daily sessions had to be recorded in the evenings and on weekends. Notes were handwritten in notebooks by the researcher to the best of her ability to remember the details of the daily activities. The researcher was also able to record observations and participate in activities out on the land during a five day hunting excursion and frequent summer picnics with the Inuit participants.

Chapter 5

Discussion, Conclusion and Future Research

Empowerment is a combination of emotions, motivations, concrete skills, and cultural awareness. This researcher presumes that if the definition of and assumptions about empowerment can be shown to have been supported by the data collected during the craft product design workshop, then an empowerment process occurred. In this section, the empowerment definition and assumptions relevant to this thesis are reviewed in conjunction with the description and analysis of the craft design workshop. Discussion is focused on whether the data supports the definition and assumptions and, therefore, indicates that an empowerment process did occur. Examples from the researcher's daily records are presented and discussed to support and clarify the conclusions drawn. Suggestions for future empowerment research are made.

Support for the Definition of Empowerment

In Chapter 2 empowerment is defined as "a process, a mechanism by which people, organizations, and communities gain mastery over their affairs" (Rappaport, 1987, p. 128). The empowerment process consists of actions such as discovering and developing competencies, participation, expanding knowledge, increasing awareness, recognizing the role of culture and context (Berenbaum, 1995; Florin and Wandersman, 1990; Gaboriau, 1993; Guttierrez, 1990; Keiffer, 1984; Rappaport, 1981, 1987; Serrano-Garcia, 1984; Staples, 1990; Stevenson, 1992; Zimmerman, 1990). These empowerment process actions can be observed and described when an empowerment process is underway.

Delgado-Gaitan (1993), found that changes in empowerment process actions, such as increased participation and involvement in the research program could be observed. She hypothesized that those actions resulted from increased awareness of individual circumstances within local organizations and increased awareness of levels of personal control or power. The increased awareness resulted in increased self esteem, self confidence, knowledge, and understanding all of which are part of individual level empowerment. Similar empowerment process actions, such as increased participation in decision making related to craft product design, methods of production, daily delegation of tasks among the project participants, commitment to attend the workshop, and to the craft group in the future, were observed by this author during this research. These empowerment process actions indicate, in the context of this thesis, increasing self-confidence, self-esteem, and awareness resulting from the individual participants experiencing an empowerment process. Evidence for this statement is provided below.

The researcher observed increased participation in the decision making activities of the participants during the workshop indicating the individual level empowerment of the participants. At the beginning of the session the entire group deferred to the researcher's decisions regarding craft product design, production techniques to be used, and work assignments. That was expected since the researcher initially had more technical knowledge and experience designing craft products for a southern, non-Inuit market. As the session progressed and the participants increased in technical competence and confidence, they began to offer their ideas and opinions to the entire group. Those ideas were welcomed and encouraged by the researcher to draw the participants to speak out more and more. By mid-session, the researcher no longer made all the suggestions for new craft ideas. Independently, some of the participants began to look through books and art

exhibition catalogues for inspiration and to discover what kinds of items are popular with craft purchasers. For example, one of the Inuit seamstresses was inspired by a photo in one such catalogue to create a beautiful, life-like Inuit mask. This was quite an achievement for this seamstress. Although she knew that such masks had been made by Inuit historically, she had never before seen one or made one herself.

When the workshop commenced, decisions regarding delegation of some daily tasks were made by participants long associated with the Minnguq Sewing Group. Those women already had a strong commitment to the center and felt confident to do so. Those women, the two older Inuit seamstresses, called for the morning and afternoon tea breaks to begin, assigned daily clean up tasks to the other participants and mentored the less experienced seamstresses in traditional sewing and pattern making techniques. They did so without direction from the researcher because they personally perceived they possessed the power to do so. The participants who were new to the group, younger, and less experienced deferred to the older seamstresses' wishes since they did not perceive their levels of personal power and knowledge to be as high.

Observations of changes in empowerment process actions in the group's behavior suggests that the younger women experienced an individual level empowerment process and that the operational definition of empowerment selected for this thesis is supported by the data. During the latter weeks of the session the younger women became more active and vocal making decisions regarding daily tasks, workshop organization and personal preferences for work assignments. As the younger participants garnered skills, knowledge, and self-confidence, they became increasingly empowered to engage in decision making activities in the workshop setting. Some of the women began to try out some of their own ideas for

craft items. For example, one Inuit seamstress began to work on several puppets in traditional dress thereby taking personal initiative to begin designing a puppet line.

Personal level empowerment also involves commitment to continue to attend the workshop regularly and remain involved with the craft group. One must question whether the source of the commitment was caused by the occurrence of an individual level empowerment process or something else such as money, sufficient weeks to qualify for unemployment insurance, interest in craft product development, the desire to be a member of a pleasant group, or a combination of these factors. The six participants in this research had different reasons for joining the workshop group and continuing to work throughout the summer. For some of them, the most compelling reason was the wage paid. Broughton Island has very high rates of unemployment and cost of living so an opportunity to be paid a wage while learning craft design and sewing was very attractive. The wage also presented an opportunity for the women to earn cash which in turn provided the capital resource to finance male partner's traditional subsistence activities. In addition to the wage available, participation in the workshop was a way to earn enough weeks of paid employment to qualify for unemployment insurance. Several researchers found that mixed strategies of traditional subsistence and cash economies are often used by northern aboriginals to support themselves and their families (Quigley & McBride, 1987; Robinson & Ghostkeeper, 1987; Wenzel, 1991).

Each of the women had different reasons for participating and there were varying levels of observed commitment to the program, the craft center, and each other among them. Commitment was identified as consistent attendance at the workshop and expressed interest in workshop activities and the future of the sewing group. Commitment was influenced by events outside the workshop such as changing daily financial, social, and familial circumstances. For example, one

participant was assaulted by her common-law partner and was left very bruised and sore about her face and head. However, her commitment to the craft group and the workshop was so strong she did not miss any of the workshop sessions as a result of the attack. Another participant had a strong commitment to the continued growth of the craft center as a benefit to its employees and the community. She had been very involved with the initial organization of the craft center and had devoted much of her own time and resources to keep it going. She was so highly committed to the program that she attended every day of the workshop in addition to her full time job as cook at the local hotel. Other participants appeared to be less committed to attending the workshop. For example, one woman left the program at the half way point because she had achieved her stated objective for participating; she had earned sufficient weeks to qualify for full unemployment insurance benefits. Some of the participants who expressed strong commitment to craft product design, sewing and to developing a stronger craft group in their community also depended on the wage paid in the program since they were the only earners of cash income in their respective households.

These observations of empowerment process actions indicate increased participatory commitment of the Inuit women involved in the craft design workshop and support for the chosen operational definition of empowerment. The women were free to choose and take what they wanted from the project which they clearly did as explained above. One woman continued in the project to achieve her short term goal of qualifying for unemployment insurance but did not consider the longer term potential of better skills and knowledge important to her at that time. Five of the women expressed a deep interest in craft design and successfully completed the workshop program. Several of those women are still working with the Minnguq

Sewing Group while one continued to further her education at Arctic College (J. Kakka, personal communication, 1994).

Support for the Multi-Level Assumption

An assumption about empowerment developed for this thesis is that empowerment can occur at individual and collective levels and that the process occurring at one level can influence the other. The observations of empowerment process actions described above indicate an empowerment process at the individual level occurred during the research. This author also observed indications of empowerment at the collective level influenced by the individual empowerment processes. A description and discussion of the multi-level empowerment observations is presented below.

To support an empowerment process at the collective level, a development project must address a locally identified need, and have local control, support and participation. Furthermore, the project must support traditional patterns of subsistence and exchange within the community by expanding the market for by-products of other community activities. Evidence for these requirements exists in the literature. Earlier, unsuccessful development projects ignored local needs and attempted to replace traditional patterns of life and commerce with 'modern' ones (Korten, 1990; Schumacher, 1970). More recent community-based economic development projects based on locally identified needs, have local support, participation, and sustain local patterns of life and commerce (Robinson & Ghostkeeper, 1987, 1989). This style of more recent community-based economic

development programs value and strengthen local culture. In so doing, these projects contribute to individual and collective level empowerment processes.

The project supported Inuit traditional patterns of subsistence and exchange within the community. The craft design project advanced empowerment by encouraging local hunters to provide necessary raw materials for the program, by performing traditional hunting tasks, by partly restoring the local market for seal skins, and by encouraging the seamstresses to work in the traditional communal way (Tuchak, 1991). In so doing, the project encouraged empowerment by valuing the sewing and hunting skills of Inuit rather than attempting to replace them with skills valued by western culture. Thus, conditions conducive to a collective empowerment process were indicated for the those involved.

Indications that collective level empowerment occurred because the project satisfied a locally identified need, was locally controlled, and supported were observed. The Minnguq Sewing Group members became increasingly aware of their importance to the preservation of traditional Inuit skills and culture in the community. As the workshop progressed the Minnguq Sewing Group members increasingly collaborated to promote their group activities within the community, invite community members to visit the workshop to view new product displays, and organize displays of traditional sewn items in the community. As the group knowledge of the southern craft market broadened, they expressed their strengthening commitment to expand their product line and to use new techniques, such as mail-order catalogues, to market that line to a larger volume of customers. They also expressed increased motivation to strengthen and expand their craft business to provide local employment and to preserve traditional sewing knowledge.

The individual level empowerment process influenced the collective level empowerment discussed above. As the participants and members of the Minnguq

Sewing Group became increasingly skilled, knowledgeable, aware, and self-confident, their expressed commitment to continued involvement with the group was observed. The personal level empowerment of the participants of the workshop and the Minnguq members created conditions amenable to the development of the collective level empowerment. For example, the increased skill level and knowledge of craft product design observed at the personal level, empowered the collective to capitalize on marketing opportunities to achieve its objectives.

Support for the Context Assumption

Another assumption developed for this thesis is that the historical and cultural contexts of individuals and collectives influence the empowerment process and must be understood. Gutiérrez (1990), in her description of empowering social work praxis among women of color in the United States, found it was critical for the practitioner to understand the women's cultures and how those cultures fit into the broader American society to address the absence or imbalance of power in their lives. Delgado-Gaitan (1993) found that as a member of the Latino cultural group under scrutiny, her clear understanding of the culture and circumstances helped her to more effectively encourage and analyze the community empowerment process as it occurred. Minore and Hill (1990) found that to analyze the empowering effect of native language broadcasting among Aboriginal people in northern Ontario, they had to understand how the native broadcast system was appropriate to the local Aboriginal historical and cultural circumstances.

In-depth contextual knowledge about Inuit provides the researcher with knowledge required to effectively collaborate with the participants to catalyze an empowerment process. Furthermore, it enables the author to encourage use of

traditional skills, to interpret observations about the empowerment process in the context of Inuit culture, and to understand the effect of Inuit culture on that empowerment process. To support this assumption, an in-depth review of contextual literature was conducted and is presented in Chapter 3. The history of Inuit settlement and culture is reviewed with particular attention to Inuit sewing techniques and traditional clothing design since that knowledge is most relevant to the interpretation of this research. Therefore, evidence that the context assumption is strongly supported, contributing to the creation of conditions amenable to empowerment, exists in this research.

Support for the Competency Assumption

A further assumption developed for this thesis is that disempowered individuals and collectives possess forgotten or unused competencies that can be enhanced by providing opportunities for them to be discovered and flourish. Technical skills and operational competence are part of an individual's self-perception of their circumstances, abilities, and power. Improved technical skills and competence can increase an individual's level of self-confidence and self-esteem. This researcher assumes that individuals who experience heightened self-esteem and self-confidence due to improved technical skills and competence will be empowered at the personal level. The author observed that competencies founded in Inuit traditional aesthetics, sewing skills, and the practice of women working together to teach younger, less experienced participants were reactivated. These observations along with others regarding areas of increased competency are discussed below and support for the assumption is shown.

An important aspect of this research is the emphasis on integrating traditional Inuit sewing techniques and aesthetics with modern ones to produce marketable craft products. As discussed above, earlier development programs were unsuccessful because they attempted to replace local, traditional ways with 'modern' ones (Korten, 1990; Schumacher, 1970). Disempowerment resulted from this lack of respect for local knowledge, participation, and control. However, the revival and use of traditional knowledge as a means to encourage the empowerment process is an essential theme of the competency assumption. The researcher documented the activation and use of traditional competencies during the workshop. Several examples are given below.

Patterns for many traditional skin clothing, toys, and implements do not exist except in the memories of older seamstresses who learned them from their mothers. During the workshop the older seamstresses, who possessed this knowledge of traditional pattern making, worked with the less experienced women to produce paper patterns as a permanent record. Furthermore, they demonstrated for the younger women how to properly orient the pattern to the direction of the hair on the skin and to cut the pattern pieces from the correct location on the hide. Other traditional competencies that were reactivated and taught to the group were preparation of sealskins for varied end uses, sharpening and use of ulus, planning, and cutting pieces of alternating light and dark haired skins to put together inlaid designs. Rediscovery of these traditional skills was empowering. The participants expressed pride and enjoyment in learning and discovering their value to the production of craft items for southern markets.

The traditional practice of Inuit women gathering together to sew is described in the literature (Briggs, 1974; Mathiasson, 1992). The participants of the Minnguq workshop readily embraced this communal work style. The participants

and researcher worked around a large table and shared a supply of sewing needles, thread, and implements. At the table, small pattern pieces were cut. Inlaid designs were planned and hand sewing was executed. As the women worked they talked continuously in Inuktitut and sometimes in English. They discussed family issues, community events, picnic and summer vacation plans, their sewing, and what they would like to make next. As the session progressed, the group began to grow closer by sharing time, knowledge, and skills with each other.

Participants were observed to have mastered traditional sewing skills with the assistance of the more senior Inuit women and the researcher. In this research, the improvement and/or mastery of technical sewing and design skills is an indicator of increased competency, a component of personal level empowerment. For example, one of the less experienced participants began to learn, from the more experienced women, the traditional Inuit ornamentation technique of insetting alternating pieces of light and dark haired seal skin to create an image or pattern. This technique has been documented in the literature as a historic feature of Inuit clothing design for many centuries and is described in Chapter 3 (Boas, 1888; Chun, 1992, 1993; Driscoll, 1980, 1987; Issenman, 1982, 1985; Oakes, 1987, 1989). She was assisted by one of the older seamstresses and became very proficient at designing the motif, selecting the skins, cutting the pieces, neatly stitching them together, dampening and blocking the piece. After she had the opportunity to complete some practice samples, this younger seamstress incorporated the inlay technique into a contemporary product she was adept at producing; a fanny bag worn around the waist. This seamstress produced several examples of this bag product embellished with inset Inuktitut letters, images of animals and flowers (Tuchak, 1991).

Other examples of improved technical competence are related to the craft design process. Craft product design involves technical competence, the ability to operate useful machinery, constructively assess prototypes, creativity in the search for new and better ways to construct an item, and continued patience to try and try again. It also involves expanding one's knowledge and understanding of customer needs, wants, and expectations as a starting point in the design process. The researcher found that the participants did progress according to these criteria.

Throughout the session, certain products with sales potential were made several times using different construction methods and to increase the level of the participant's sewing skills. The researcher and participants constructively assessed the quality, potential customer appeal and ease of construction of the completed items. During these discussions many suggestions for improvements were made by the researcher and the participants, were noted and were implemented in subsequent production.

Improvements in the design and production of several products were noted in the researcher's field notes. For example, on June 28 it was stated that;

> "one of the women has made incredible improvements on the long and short mitts. They are just terrific."

That woman, one of the more experienced seamstresses in the group, made several pairs of wrist and gauntlet style mitts in sealskin to perfect the pattern, the sizing for adults and children, and the inlaid sealskin design embellishing them. As she worked, each pair was considered by the group to be better than her previous ones.

Another example of improvement of product design skills was documented in the researcher's field notes as follows;

> "one of the women has made some portfolios. We have been trying different ways to do it. The first one wasn't so great but now they look really good."

Several improvements in the portfolio design and construction were made before the final prototype was approved by the group. We discovered the original pattern was not large enough to accommodate legal size documents. The seamstress realized a potential customer could require that the portfolio hold legal size documents or folders and so enlarged the pattern. Also, the insertion of the metal hinged clasp along the top of the early portfolio prototypes was untidy and bulky. The seamstress and the researcher devised several different methods to insert the clasp to determine the neatest, easiest, most professional looking one. Finally, the inlaid sealskin designs on the portfolio prototypes were assessed. Several of the early portfolios were embellished with small polar bears and inukshuks. However, when the designs were evaluated by the group it was determined that they were too small and were out of proportion with the size of the enlarged portfolio. Improvements such as increasing the size of the inlaid motif and using large syllabic symbols to spell out Minnguq or a customer's name were used.

The participants also became increasingly aware of customer expectations and needs. To design products for far away craft customers, the participants learned about the customer's interests, lifestyles, as well as quality and price expectations. The researcher worked to help the group understand who and where their customer is and what is important to him/her. Elements of product design such as creativity, uniqueness, interesting materials, high quality, and documentary information for each product were discussed. Also, the researcher explained how mass production, particularly in the garment industry, was conducted in order for the participants to compare their ways of working with light industrial methods.

The researcher also observed increased awareness of marketing and promotional skills among the participants. For Inuit who have grown up in tight family units in limited geographical areas, the idea of promoting ideas or items to

strangers far away is foreign. However, these skills are vital to being able to sell crafts in internal and external markets. The researcher introduced to the group the idea of promoting products and events to increase sales. Initially, the focus was on local, familiar media that the women felt comfortable accessing. For example, the women composed and made announcements on the local public radio station to publicize the start of the workshop, displays of completed work, sales of crafts at the Minnguq shop, and new developments. Those announcements were always made in Inuktitut. The researcher assisted the group in the preparation of English language news releases for northern publications Nunatsiaq News, News North, Above and Beyond, and Up Here. Several news releases were prepared during the session and information subsequently published was shared with the women to illustrate the positive result of promotion.

Sewing machine maintenance was another area in which all the participants were unskilled. Early in the workshop, the researcher observed the participants become very frustrated and discouraged when they had difficulties operating one of the available sewing machines. Furthermore, when machines broke down as a result of lack of maintenance, the group was unable to repair them. Frequently, equipment needed simple repairs or oiling but had to be shipped south to a mechanic because no one in the community had the knowledge required. The researcher worked with all individuals to share sewing machine maintenance and repair expertise so that they would be able to perform basic functions in the future. As the workshop continued, the researcher observed the participants had greater skill and confidence when operating the sewing machines.

By the end of the workshop, many high-quality craft items had been designed and produced by the participants using a combination of traditional and modern techniques. Many of these product were included in the Minnguq Sewing

Group product line published in a mail order catalogue in 1994. This success is considered an indication of the group's improved ability to conceive creative craft products and execute them with sufficient skill to be marketable to the Minnguq customers. Several items such as the portfolio described above, the wrist and gauntlet style seal skin mitts, the fanny bag with inlaid design, the miniature kamiks, and the seal skin hair clips were selected.

The above observations of the participant's increased technical competency and use of rediscovered traditional skills during the workshop, show support for the competency assumption. The participants improved or learned new technical skills, traditional competencies and work modes were reactivated, the women were exposed to promotion and marketing strategies and some of their work was chosen for the Minnguq mail order catalogue. This supports the conclusion that a personal level empowerment process did exist among the participants of the craft design workshop.

The Effect of the Researcher on the Empowerment Process

The sixth assumption about empowerment developed for this research is that the role and involvement of the researcher in the empowerment process will vary according to circumstances. However, her role and involvement in the empowerment process are important and must be considered. Examples of studies in which the researcher influenced and was influenced by an empowerment process under scrutiny are discussed in Chapter 2 (Delgado-Gaitan, 1993; Gutiérrez, 1990; Rappaport, 1987). A number of questions regarding this researcher's involvement in and influence upon the empowerment process being described and analyzed in this section are raised in Chapter 2. For example, how did this researcher's

involvement influence the empowerment process in Broughton Island? This and related issues are discussed below.

Inuit women have certain prescribed roles depending on their age and status in the community (Briggs, 1974; Mathiasson, 1976; Musmaker-Giffen, 1930). In Inuit society older, more experienced women and men are expected to lead younger members of the group by example and to teach them the traditional skills they would need to survive (Briggs, 1974; Mathiasson, 1976; Musmaker-Giffen, 1930). During the craft design workshop I worked with Inuit women many of whom were older and in some ways more knowledgeable than myself. However, even though many of them were the elder in the situation and ought to have been leading me, they allowed me to take control of the product development and costing. This could imply that the women were not empowered but were led by the researcher. However, the group identified a need for knowledge and training in craft product development and marketing and proceeded to access resources that would provide that experience for them. Through that process the craft design workshop was organized (J. Oakes, personal communication, 1991). The workshop, held in two phases in 1991, was conducted by two individuals, Val Kosmenko and myself, so the group did not become dependent on one resource person. Once the workshops were concluded, Minnguq Sewing Group continued their work to have a mail order catalogue published to grow their business. In this phase of their development they were advised by Broughton Island economic development officer Shane Parrish so they were not directed or dependent on the outside professionals they had accessed.

I was an outsider who was non-Inuit and initially regarded as an expert in craft product design, marketing, and small business management. Thus, it appears that traditional cultural gender role expectations were relaxed or did not apply to me. I was free to retain my identity and roles within the group while I respectfully

interacted with their roles on their terms. However, had I been a young, Inuit woman I most likely would not have been afforded that luxury and it would have been much more difficult to provide the leadership the group needed in the early stages of the program.

I was concerned whether the structure and instructional tone of the workshop would effect the empowerment process. Hobart (1981) in Young and McDermott (1988, p. 197) found that participants involved in vocational training programs "were cut off from role models, the reference groups, and the significant others which sustain the distinctive patterns of motivation, interest, and activity of Northerners." The authors found that these programs were acculturative in that they were designed to replace traditional local patterns of life with western ones. My concerns regarding the effect of the structure of the workshop and the empowerment process are addressed below.

Traditional role expectations and work styles were supported by the craft design project. Inuit women historically gathered to sew and learn from each other especially when there was volume production to be done. Not only is this aspect of Inuit culture well documented in the literature (Briggs, 1974; Mathiasson, 1992), data collected during interviews with senior Minnguq seamstresses revealed they grew up learning to sew from their mothers in just these kinds of circumstances. The craft design project utilized the traditional communal style of working and learning to sew rather than a more rigid, planned curriculum.

The craft design project did not isolate its participants from their local culture or society. Elder Inuit women considered to be role models in Broughton Island were part of the group and helped to teach less experienced seamstresses traditional Inuit skin preparation and sewing techniques. Furthermore, the program was open to other Minnguq members who dropped in to review the group's

progress, provide knowledge of traditional sewing techniques, and feedback about the items already made. Again, the project depended on the exposure to the community at large and its input for its success.

The craft design project was compatible with the local program of renewable resource gathering and gendered work assignments. It reinforced the local connection to the land and the group's involvement with men involved in traditional activities. In so doing, it emphasized the importance of Inuit culture and tradition and did not attempt to replace it with western styles of mass production and small business operation.

The program did impose English as the primary language of interaction since the researcher could not speak Inuktitut. However, the participants freely spoke with each other in Inuktitut when discussing their work and other matters. Local Inuit visitors to the program also addressed the group in Inuktitut and occasionally waited as information was translated into English for the researcher. The program schedule did impose alternative scheduling by formalizing the work hours to weekdays from 9-5 with regular coffee breaks and lunches. Also, the women were paid hourly to participate. Since Inuit society is not accustomed to such a linear view of time, Young and McDermott (1988) suggest rotational training schedules, voluntary participation on seminars, and modular organization of programs to accommodate cultural traits related to time. However, the short duration of the project did not allow for incorporation of these approaches while also accomplishing the tasks related to craft development. Nevertheless, local annual events were respected and there were breaks for annual hunting trips and events. For example, the start of the program was delayed by a several days to accommodate the spring fishing trip to Aiyuittuq National Park. Almost everyone in the

community went out for several days to hunt seal on the sea ice and fish for char in the head waters of various fiords.

Empowerment of Participants and Researcher

In the above discussion, support for the definition of and the assumptions about empowerment developed for this research have been shown to exist in the data collected. Evidence of the empowerment process existing at the personal and collective level is given. Therefore, I conclude that an empowerment process did occur during the craft product design workshop. The existence of the process was supported, and it was also clear to the researcher that the participants and the Minnguq Sewing Group were satisfied with their progress, were more confident and in control of the craft design and production, and were motivated to continue with their craft activities. Further, it has been established that the group has continued to expand their operation, learn new skills, and develop that small business since the workshop ended. However, benefits to the Inuit participants and researcher may not be the same.

The typical result of non-participatory cross-cultural research is discussed in the PAR literature. Researchers benefited from their information gathering and publication while those researched did not (Masuzumi & Quirk, 1993; Ryan & Robinson, 1990). Researchers were handsomely rewarded for disseminating culturally sensitive information and artifacts without the permission of the groups who were participants (Hoare, Levy & Robinson, 1993). Early adventurers and ethnographers who studied Inuit were not affiliated with educational institutions and were not guided by ethical policies which are established by such institutions today. By using participatory research methods in a forum that encourages

empowerment, the research subjects who have requested the research be done and have participated in it are considered to be the primary beneficiaries of the process. During this participatory research, this researcher expected the participants and Minnguq Sewing Group to be to be effected by the empowerment process. Empowerment of the researcher was not originally considered or expected. However, as I reflect on the empowerment process and my subsequent experiences, it is clear to me that I was empowered too.

During my experience in Broughton Island I grew from a young student who had never been north before into a more experienced, confident researcher able to persevere in the face of culture shock, loneliness for home, family and friends, and able to accomplish a large amount of work in a limited amount of time. As I worked with the women in the workshop, traveled with groups on the land, and provided business leadership and guidance to the Minnguq Sewing Group I gained tremendous experience. When I returned south, my confidence grew as I reflected on the challenges I was able to overcome while working on the project. That experience and confidence has led to other challenging northern experiences, has helped me to develop an interesting independent career, and has provided me with a large network of contacts in northern government and business. Although empowerment of the researcher was not an active consideration during the organization and implementation of the research project, that has been the result.

Minnguq in 1996 - Where Are They Now?

What of the empowerment process once the project is finished and the researcher goes home. Gaboriau (1993) states that "Additional research needs to take a longitudinal approach to the empowerment process to determine the sustainability of a catalyst, and to determine whether outcomes achieved lead to a

continuation of the process" (p. 71). Since empowerment has been defined as a long-term process without a defined beginning or end, additional support for the assertion that an empowerment process did occur must be found in the experiences and activities of the Minnguq Sewing Group after completion of the 1991 program. However, funding was unavailable to return to the community to survey the participants on their feelings and progress. The following is provided in lieu of more in-depth study of the continuation of the empowerment process. It is not as satisfactory but does show that the group has continued, has expanded their product line and competencies. Their perseverance may imply that the empowerment process has been sustained.

In 1993, Minnguq Sewing Group successfully achieved the goal of publishing a mail order catalogue containing some of the craft products designed in the 1991 workshop. During that year the Minnguq Tannery was also opened and several of the women who participated in the design workshops were trained to tan seal skins using industrial methods. More skills learned by the women and additional opportunities for other community members were generated by this expansion at Minnguq.

Craft and clothing items made by the Minnguq Sewing Group are on display or for sale in a number of Canadian locations. A permanent display of Minnguq craft products has been erected in the arrivals area of Iqaluit airport to represent the community of Broughton Island to travelers in the North. The researcher has also seen Minnguq products and catalogues in northern retail stores such as the Tununiqmiut Arts and Crafts shop in Iqaluit and Northern Images in Yellowknife.

Lately, Minnguq Sewing Group has been considering parka production as part of new line of northern clothing showing they have maintained their motivation to expand their business and continue to design new products for the

line. This researcher has observed that the group has also advertised in northern magazines like Up-Here and Above & Beyond; publications that have wide southern as well as northern readerships. Early in 1996, Minnguq Sewing Group was mentioned in a national news article about caribou skin clothing. They received an overwhelming number of inquiries and were unable to supply the demand for product. Finally, Minnguq Sewing Group has been participating in an Iqaluit project, lead by Val Kosmenko, to expand craft production throughout the Baffin region by distributing craft product kits to seamstresses who would then assemble them in a cottage industry setting.

Design of a Future Empowerment Project

Current understanding of empowerment, especially empowerment in northern aboriginal communities, is unsatisfactory. Further research is required to study how empowerment processes are encouraged, how they begin and progress, how participants experience them, and how they are sustained. Suggestions for the design of a future empowerment project, with reference to the longitudinal assumption developed for this thesis, are discussed below.

It is assumed in this thesis that longitudinal empowerment research is desirable since empowerment is a dynamic process which occurs over time (Gaboriau, 1993; Rappaport, 1985, 1987; Staples, 1990). Limited time and funding, constraints that are commonly experienced, prevent researchers from studying an empowerment process over many years. For example, time and funding constraints limited this researcher's opportunity to study empowerment in Broughton Island to ten weeks. Although this researcher observed support for the existence of an empowerment process, the opportunity to study it was far too

limited. A much longer term project might have produced a more detailed description of the empowerment process and a deeper understanding of its effect on those involved.

One way to mitigate the constraints of time and funding while studying empowerment in isolated, northern communities is for a community member to conduct the research. That individual may be a trained, research professional who is from that community and plans to reside there for many years. An example of such an individual is Delgado-Gaitan (1993), a long-term community member and resident of the area in which her empowerment research was conducted. Her study of empowerment catalyzed by grass-roots literacy programs involving fellow Latinos was rich in detail and insight attributable to her eight year observation of the process and her familiarity with the culture and language of the participants.

Conversely, the local researcher might not be a research professional but could receive training from an outside research professional who visits the site periodically. The resulting empowerment research could be superior as a result of this type of collaboration. The program could study the empowerment process for many years and could even be expanded to examine the effect of the process on the offspring of the original participants. Furthermore, the community would benefit from the additional research and administrative expertise gained by the local researchers in training. Examples of this type of long-term collaborative style research in the North exists in the PAR literature. Local individuals in Fort McPherson were successfully trained to conduct participatory cultural research by a visiting research professional and have to continue these activities (Ryan & Robinson, 1990). Regardless of whether the researcher is a trained professional returned home or a local individual collaborating with an outside professional, the key to advancing empowerment research is longer-term study.

Knowledge of the perceptions and experiences of individual and collectives undergoing empowerment is also superficial. Deeper insight into how empowerment effects the way participants feel, think and approach life is critical to develop a clearer perception of how empowerment processes begin and progress. With reference to the study of empowerment in the Canadian north, insight into different ways in which aboriginal and non-aboriginal people experience the empowerment processes would be valuable. As previously stated, many disempowered Inuit communities are characterized by high levels of alcoholism, substance abuse, violence and family breakdown (Coates, 1991). A long-term study of empowerment and its effect on this social and cultural tragedy would be a valuable resource for northern communities seeking healing.

References

Arts and crafts: Creating opportunities for the 1990's (1990). In Building On Strengths: A Community Based Approach. Yellowknife, NWT: Department of Economic Development and Tourism.

Berenbaum, S. (1995). Empowerment and the home economist. Canadian Home Economics Journal, 45(2), 46-48.

Boas, F. (1888). The Central Eskimo (6th Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology for the years 1884-1885). Washington, D.C.

Briggs, J.L. (1974). Eskimo women: Makers of men. In Carolyn Matthiasson, (Ed.), Many sisters: Women in cross-cultural perspective (pp. 261-304). New York: The Free Press.

Brody, H. (1987). Living Arctic. Hunters of the Canadian north. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Brown, D.L. (1985). People-centered development and participatory research. Harvard Educational Review, 55, 69-75.

Chun, Z. (1992). Documentation of seal skin kamiks from Broughton Island, Northwest Territories. University of Alberta, Clothing and Textiles Collection, Unpublished manuscript.

Chun, Z. (1993). Inuit crafts in Broughton Island, Northwest Territories: Producer and consumer influences. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Coates, K. (1991). Yukon and Northwest Territories: The emerging north of native and non-native societies. In P. Jull & S. Roberts (Eds.), The challenge of northern regions (pp. 147-182). Darwin, Australia: North Australia Research Unit.

Condon, R.G., Collings, P., & Wenzel, G. (1995). The best part of life: Subsistence hunting, ethnicity, and economic adaptation among young adult Inuit males. Arctic, 48, 31-46.

Condon, R.G., & Stern, P. (1993). Gender role preference, gender identity, and gender socialization among contemporary Inuit youth. Ethos, 21, 384-416.

Dawson, P.C. (1995). "Unsympathetic users": An ethnoarchaeological examination of Inuit responses to the changing nature of the built environment. Arctic, 48, 71-80.

Delgado-Gaitan, C. (1993). Researching change and changing the researcher. Harvard Educational Review, 63, 389-411.

Driscoll, B. (1980). The Inuit amautik: I like my hood to be full. Winnipeg: The Winnipeg Art Gallery.

Driscoll, B. (1987). Pretending to be caribou. The Inuit parka as an artistic tradition. In T. Brasser (Ed.), The spirit sings. Artistic traditions of Canada's first peoples. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart.

Fals-Borda, O., & Rahman, M.A. (Eds.). (1991). Action and knowledge: Breaking the monopoly with participatory action research. New York: The Apex Press.

Florin, P., & Wandersman, A. (1990). An introduction to citizen participation, voluntary organizations, and community development: Insights for empowerment through research. American Journal of Community Psychology, 18, 41-54.

Frideres, J.S., & Reeves, W.J. (1987). Northwest Territories political development and the plebiscite. Inuit Studies, 11(1), 107-133.

Gaboriau, L. (1993). The Caragana project: Empowerment in a rural community. Unpublished master's thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Government of the Northwest Territories (1990). 1989 NWT labor force survey winter 1989. Wage employment and traditional activities. Yellowknife, NWT: Department of Culture and Communications.

Government of the Northwest Territories (1993). Statistics Quarterly, 15, 3-34.

Gutiérrez, L.M. (1990). Working with women of color: An empowerment perspective. Social Work, March, 149-153.

Hoare, T., Levy, C., & Robinson, M. (1993). Participatory action research in native communities: Cultural, opportunities and legal implications. The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 13, 43-68.

Issenman, B. (1982). The elegant clothing of the Inuit. Costume Society of Ontario Newsletter, May.

Issenman, B. (1985). Inuit skin clothing: Construction and motifs. Études/Inuit/Studies, 9, 101-118.

Jull, P. (1991). The politics of northern frontiers in Australia, Canada and other 'first world' countries. Darwin: Australia: North Australia Research Group, Australia National University.

Keiffer, C.H. (1984). Citizen empowerment: A developmental perspective. In (J. Rappaport, C. Swift, & R. Hess, Eds.), Studies in empowerment. Steps toward understanding and action. New York: The Haworth Press.

Kemp, W.B. (1984). Baffinland Eskimo. In D. Damas & W.C. Sturtevant, (Eds.), Handbook of North American Indians (Vol. 5, Arctic)(pp. 463-475). Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Korten, D.C. (1990). Getting to the 21st century: Voluntary action and the global agenda. West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press.

Legat, A. (1994). Participatory action research in Rae Lakes, NWT: The traditional government project. Information North, 20, 1-4.

Lewis, M. (1994). CED builds First Nation self-reliance from the ground up. Making Waves, 5, 1-8.

Masazumi, B. & Quirk, S. (1993). A participatory research process for Dene/Metis communities. Exploring community-based research concerns for aboriginal northerners. Unpublished manuscript.

Mathiasson, T. (1927). Material culture of the Iglulik Eskimos. In Report of the fifth Thule expedition, 1921-1924, 6(1). Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel.

Mathiasson, J.S. (1976). Northern Baffin Island women in three cultural periods. The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 6, 201-212.

Mathiasson, J.S. (1992). Living on the land. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.

Maxwell, M.S. (1984). Pre-Dorset and Dorset prehistory of Canada. In D. Damas & W.C. Sturtevant, (Eds.), Handbook of North American Indians (Vol. 5, Arctic)(pp. 359-368). Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

McElroy, A. (1976). The negotiation of sex-role identity in eastern Arctic culture change. The Western Canadian Journal of Anthropology, 3, 184-200.

McGhee, R. (1984). Thule prehistory of Canada. In D. Damas & W.C. Sturtevant, (Eds.), Handbook of North American Indians (Vol. 5, Arctic)(pp. 369-376). Washington: Smithsonian Institution.

Minore, J.B., & Hill, M.E. (1990). Native language broadcasting: An experiment in empowerment. The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 10, 97-119.

Musmaker-Giffen, N. (1930). Roles of men and women in Eskimo culture. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Myers, M. (1980). Things made by Inuit. Quebec: La Féderation de Cooperatives de Nouveau Québec.

Neufeldt, V. (1990). Webster's New World Dictionary. New York: Warner Books.

Newman, P.C. (1991). Merchant princes. Toronto, Ont: Penguin Books.

Northwest Territories data book: A complete information guide to the Northwest Territories and its communities. (1990). Broughton Island, (pp. 118-119). Yellowknife, NT: Outcrop.

Northwest Territories Development Corporation (1995). Corporate plan. Yellowknife, NT: Department of Economic Development and Tourism.

Nunavut Tungavik Incorporated (n.d.). Nunavut. Our land. Our people.

Oakes, J. (1987). Factors influencing kamik production in Arctic Bay, Northwest Territories. (Canadian Ethnology Service Paper No. 107). Ottawa, ON: Canadian Museum of Civilization.

Oakes, J. (1989). Clothing in Ed Hall (Ed.), People and caribou in the Northwest Territories. Yellowknife, NT: Department of Renewable Resources, Government of the Northwest Territories.

O'Brien, D., & Pace, J. (1990). The role of empowerment in social work degree programs for indigenous people: A critique of one school's experience. The Canadian Journal of Native Studies, 10, 1-13.

Parrish, S. (1991). Minnguq Cooperative business plan manual. Unpublished manuscript.

Pretes, M. (1988). Underdevelopment in the two norths: The Brazilian Amazon and the Canadian Arctic. Arctic, 41, 109-116.

Purich, D. (1992). The Inuit and their land. The story of Nunavut. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company.

Quigley, N., & McBride, N. (1987). The structure of an Arctic microeconomy: The traditional sector in community economic development. Arctic, 40, 204-210.

Rappaport, J. (1981). In praise of paradox. A social policy of empowerment over prevention. American Journal of Community Psychology, 9, 1-25.

Rappaport, J. (1985). The power of empowerment language. Social Policy, Fall, 15-21.

Rappaport, J. (1987). Terms of empowerment/exemplars of prevention: Toward a theory of empowerment for community psychology. American Journal of Community Psychology, 15, 121-148.

Rasmussen, K. (1942). Report of the fifth Thule expedition 1921-24. Copenhagen: Glydendalske Boghandel.

Robinson, M., & Ghostkeeper, E. (1987). Native and local economics: A consideration of economic evolution and the next economy. Arctic, 40, 138-144.

Robinson, M., & Ghostkeeper, E. (1989). Implementing the next economy in a unified context. A case study of the Paddle Prairie Mall Corporation. Arctic, 41, 173-182.

Ryan, J. & Robinson, M. (1990). Implementing participatory action research in the Canadian North: A case study of the Gwich'in language and cultural project. Culture, 10, 57-71.

Schumacher, E.F. (1976). Small is beautiful: A study of economics as if people mattered. London: Blond and Briggs.

Serrano-Garcia, I. (1984). The illusion of empowerment: Community development within a colonial context. In J. Rappaport, C. Swift, & R. Hess (Eds.), Studies in empowerment. Steps toward understanding and action. New York: The Haworth Press.

Stabler, J.C., & Howe, E.C. (1990). Native participation in northern development: The impending crisis in the NWT. Canadian Public Policy, 16, 262-283.

Staples, L.H. (1990). Powerful ideas about empowerment. Administration in Social Work, 14, 29-42.

Stefansson, V. (1914). The Stefansson-Anderson Arctic expedition of the American Museum: Preliminary Ethnological Report. New York: American Museum of Natural History.

Stevenson, M.G. (1992). Empowering northern native communities for social and economic control: An annotated bibliography of relevant literature. Unpublished manuscript, Canadian Circumpolar Institute, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Tester, F., & Kulchyski, P.K. (1994). Tamarniit (mistakes). Inuit relocation in the eastern Arctic 1939-63. Vancouver: UBC Press.

Tuchak, T. (1991). Activities and products report re: Minnguq Sewing Group, Broughton Island, N.W.T.. Unpublished manuscript, Government of the Northwest Territories, Department of Economic Development, Arts and Crafts Division, Iqaluit, N.W.T..

Van Manen, M. (1990). Researching lived experience. Human science for an action sensitive pedagogy. Edmonton, AB: The Althouse Press.

Van Maanen, J. (1988). Tales of the field. On writing ethnography. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Weil, M., & Kruzich, J. (1990). Introduction to the special issue. Administration in Social Work, 14, 1-7.

Weissling, L. (1991). Inuit redistribution and development: Processes of change in the eastern Canadian Arctic, 1922-1968. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Wenzel, G. (1991). Animal rights human rights. Ecology, economy and ideology in the Canadian Arctic. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Young, R.A, & McDermott, P. (1988). Employment training programs and acculturation of native peoples in Canada's Northwest Territories. Arctic, 41, 195-202.

Zimmerman, M.A. (1990). Taking aim on empowerment research: On the distinction between individual and psychological conceptions. American Journal of Community Psychology, 18, 169-177.